

**“ORGANIC IS THE MOST VALUABLE
THING THERE IS”**

**Legitimizing the consumption of organic food products
by emotions**

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of Business and Economics**

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**Author: Hanna Salo
Discipline: Corporate Environmental Management
Supervisor: Marjo Siltaoja**



JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

ABSTRACT

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Hanna Salo	
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Abstract	
<p>Besides cognitions, also emotions have an effect to purchasing decisions of the consumers. The impact of emotions to consumption decisions in general has been studied quite extensively but in the field of organic food consumption the previous studies have not taken this view comprehensively into consideration. Because consumers of organic food products seem to legitimate their purchasing decisions by emotions it is important to study what kind of legitimization strategies they use and what kind of factors encourages their consumption.</p> <p>Consumers use the following strategies to legitimate their consumption decisions: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis. Which strategy is used in each case depends for instance on which kinds of emotions encourages the consumers' purchasing decisions. Additionally, several motivational factors (i.e. environmental and health concerns, taste of organic food, or price premium of organic food) can have an impact to one's consumption habits. This thesis studies the way consumers legitimate their consumption of organic food products by emotions, what kind of emotions affect to their purchasing decisions and what kind of legitimating strategies they use.</p> <p>The results of the study indicate that both positive and negative emotions are used in legitimating the consumption and moral evaluation as well as rationalization are the most popular legitimization strategies, respectively. Also different themes that are related to motivational factors of consumption are represented in the legitimization process of the organic food consumers.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

As the market for organic products is continuously increasing, the reasons encouraging the consumption of organic food products should be further examined. Considering of these factors may promote the use of organic products even more and so support the operators in the industry.

There are several factors affecting to the purchasing decisions of the consumers. In our modern society the shelves of the supermarkets are packed with various options of products which seem to be similar at first but after a closer inspection differ from one another for instance by their method of production, origin, or ingredients they consist of. One remarkable way of differentiation nowadays is whether the product is conventionally or organically produced.

The research studying human decision making has traditionally separated emotion and cognition from each other yet only recently this assumption has been replaced by the integrated vision of emotion and reasoned processed (Carrus et al. 2008: 51). Hence, humans do not make their decisions purely based on rational evaluation but also emotions play an important role in this process. This presumption thus can also be applied to the consumption decisions of purchasing organic food products. Therefore it is important to study the role of emotions in the consumption habits of those consumers that purchase organic food products.

Organic food is commonly considered to be “greener” and more “natural” than conventional food. One reason for this assumption is the differences between the production methods of these two food types: for instance, the raw materials of organic food are mainly organically produced and they cannot contain i.e. artificial flavoring ingredients (Evara 2012). Moser (2015: 167) states that the everyday consumption decisions of individuals are a good way to contribute to sustainable development because “green” purchasing choices reduce the impact the production of groceries cause for the environment.

Besides the environment, also businesses can benefit from the consumption of sustainable products. The profitability and market share, employee commitment as well as customer satisfaction are relatively high for

those companies which products are sustainable (Moser 2005: 167). Hence, it is in the best interest of those businesses to have knowledge on the factors on which the consumers base their purchasing decisions. Therefore it is important to study how consumers legitimate their consumption decision and how come feelings are involved in their decision making.

1.1 Motivation for the research

Personal motivation for the research topic derives from the plans to conduct a study about the influence of emotions and feelings to pro-environmental behavior and consumer purchasing decisions of ecological products. As searching for previous literature about the subject it appeared that although the consumer behavior had been studied quite extensively in the past, the research about emotions affecting to consumption decisions has not been in the area of interest of the researchers. In the early phase of the study the topic began to shift towards consumption of organic food products mainly because the opportunity to use a data concerning media texts referring to organic issues.

The reason why organic food products were chosen as a subject of the study and women's magazine called *McNaiset* was serving as a source of data was that the writer received an assignment from the supervisor of this study to collect all the texts where word 'organic' appeared from this particular magazine. Because the data was also available for the use of this thesis the writer decided to study emotions in relation to organic food consumption. Like Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008: 26–27), it is important that the researcher is personally interested about the topic even it was given to the researcher by a third party such as supervisor. This applied also in case of this thesis as organic food among other issues related to sustainable consumption have been an area of interest for the writer for a good while.

The reason why a consumer chooses to purchase organic food products instead of a conventional ones has been explained mainly by relying on to rationality (values, etc.). As it is an acknowledged fact that also emotions guide human behavior it seemed to be important to regard the decisions of a consumer of organic food also from the viewpoint of emotions. Although there are many other aspects in the consumption of organic food products than just the ecological viewpoint, the reason to study them in relation to emotions emerged in the first place from the fact that the research of ecological behavior has been lacking sufficient observance in that field (Elgaaied 2012: 369; Carrus et al. 2008:51). Besides ecological view, the same applies to organic food products as the role of emotions has not been adequately studied in the adoption such products for instance when it comes to crises in conventional food sector (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1158). These outcomes suggest that studying the consumption of organic food products from the emotive aspect would be an appreciated approach to the subject.

2 KEY CONCEPTS

2.1 Organic food products

2.1.1 The definition of organic food products

The term “organic” is originated from a Greek word “bios” which means life or way of living. According to Green Earth Organics, “organic foods are minimally processed to maintain the integrity of the food without artificial ingredients, preservatives or irradiation” (Hamzaoui Essoussi & Zahaf 2008: 96).

In Finland organic food products are defined according to detailed regulations. These products must mainly consist of raw materials originating from agriculture. At least 95 percent of these materials must be organically produced. The remaining 5 per cent can consist of products that originate from conventional agriculture yet they have to be included to the list of permitted regular agricultural products by European Commission or must be permitted by Evira. (Evira 2012). The use of additives in organic food products can only be approximately 10 per cent of the amount used in similar conventional food products. Solely natural flavoring as well as microorganisms and enzyme products that are usually used in the production of livelihoods are allowed to be used in organic products. The basic component of salt must be sodium chloride or potassium chloride. It is only possible to add minerals which are essential to nutrition, vitamins, amino acids, and micronutrients if they are required by the law to organic food products. Because there is not such legislation in Finland, for instance vitamin D cannot be added to organic milk like it is usually added to regular milk. (Evira 2012).

Several Finnish bodies control the production and marketing for organic products. The Finnish Food Safety Authority (Evira) controls for instance the producers, wholesalers, and importers of organic food and related products. Local Centers of Economic Development, Transport and The Environment (ELY

Centers) supervise the production and marketing of organic agricultural products. The National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health (Valvira) monitors the manufacturers, wholesalers, and importers of organically produced alcoholic beverages. The Finnish Customs supervises the import of organically produced food and related products originating outside of EU. Municipal Health Officers control the marketing of organic food in the retail trade. (Evira. 2010).

2.1.2 The market of organic food products

Organic agriculture first began as a production system which supports the preservation of the environment (Vega-Zamora et al. 2013: 52) and has taken place since 1920s. From the mid-1970s organic agriculture has gained popularity especially in the Western part of Europe as well as in North America. It is typical for the countries situated in these areas that their food production exceeds the need of the population. People living in these areas also appreciate both the quality of food and protecting the environment. The European governments are currently studying opportunities to promote organic agriculture for various reasons. One of the reasons is that organic agriculture is viewed as more sustainable than traditional agriculture and by promoting organic agriculture the overproduction of traditional agricultural products can be restrained. In addition, as the amount of worldwide food scandals have increased the interest towards the quality of food has increased, too. (Muukka et al 2003:15).

It is estimated that the amount of organic food products and beverages sold worldwide was 47-48 billion euro in 2011 (Luomu.fi) while the sales in Europe were 21.5 billion euro in the same year (Nasir & Karakaya 2014: 263). Compared to year 2000, the size of the market was 3.5 times larger worldwide. (Luomu.fi). Europe and Northern America cover more than 90 per cent of the world's market of organic products (Luomu.fi; Nasir & Karakaya 2014: 263). In Europe the biggest player is Germany covering 30 per cent of the market, followed by France, Great Britain, and Italy. Denmark holds the record of biggest market share where organic products cover 7 per cent of all of the food and beverages sold. Besides Italy, the domestic consumption of organic food products is minor in the Southern Europe where most of the goods produced, such as vegetables and fruits are exported. The same applies with the organic food production in most of Asian, African, and South American countries. Although the use and production of organic products is still diminutive in the Eastern Europe, the market is growing i.e. in Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary. Romania and Ukraine already exporting a notable amount of organic grain. Additionally, the demand for organic food products is increasing also in Russia. (Luomu.fi).

The amount of organic food products sold in Finland has not been statistically compiled and so the accurate numbers can only be estimated. During the recent years the market of organic food products has increased faster than the market of food products in general. (ProLuomu 2012). In 2005 the market size for

organic products in Finland was estimated to be 51.3 million euro (Luomu Suomessa). In 2012 the estimation was 202 million euro whereas in 2013 it was 215 million Euro the market share being 1.6 per cent. For 2015 the aim is that the size of the market would be 303 million euro. (ProLuomu 2013).

2.2 Consumption and organic food products

2.2.1 The factors encouraging organic food consumption

In the Western countries, purchasing groceries is generally regarded as a low involvement activity meaning that people tend to buy constantly the same food items and do not pay a lot of attention to the alternative products available (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1154). However, this does not necessarily apply to the organic food products as the purchasing decisions of these products is rather well-considered because of their higher price compared to conventional food (Schifferstein & Oude Ophuis 1998: 120). Especially in case of different food scares when the safety of the food is uncertain, some consumers have begun to purchase organic food products instead of conventional ones. Thus, in such a deviant situation where people are concerned for their health, emotions may affect to their consuming behavior leading to higher involvement when purchasing food. (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1154-1155).

Even though many consumers are familiar with the term “organic” most of them do not have valid knowledge about the organic farming standards and practices. The confusion of consumers about what really is organic food is increased by variables such as the products category, the use of other positively associated food terms, and the level of market development. (Hughner et al. 2007: 96).

It is a common belief that organic food is healthier than conventional food. The factors favoring this view mainly lean on to principles related to organic food products and their farming: instead of using synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, growth regulators, and livestock feed additives the farmers rely i.e. on crop rotations, crop residues, animal and green manures, legumes, and biological pest control. (Magkos et al. 2006: 24). Although the scientific evidence supporting the claim about healthiness of organic food remains controversial (Muukka et al 2003:16; Nasir & Karakaya 2014: 264) many studies have shown that the health concerns are one of the main motivational factors when it comes to purchasing organic food products (Honkanen et al. 2006: 421). The ability of modern food producers to produce safe food products have been questioned by the consumers which has further encouraged them to search for “safer” alternatives such as organic products (Magkos et al. 2006: 24).

The safety of the food we are eating has gained a lot of attention recently for instance by the governments, the food industry, and various professionals. Thus, food safety has become one of the main factors influencing the food choices

of the public especially in the Western countries. (Magkos et al. 2006: 23). Yiridoe et al. (2005: 196) claim that it is not clear if organically grown foods are safer than conventional food items since the research results about the chemical and microbial contamination of organic food compared to conventional food varies. The contamination may take place in the processing or distribution phases even though the food was grown organically.

Nevertheless, when researching the nutritional quality of organic food the scientists have mainly studied if the concentration of vitamins and minerals in organic food products differs from the concentration of vitamins and minerals in conventional food products. The researchers have concluded that organic food products are healthier in case the amount of vitamins and minerals was higher than in similar conventional food products or if there was less harmful substances in organic food than in conventional food. (Muukka et al 2003:16). However, Yiridoe et al. (2005: 195) argue that the studies concerning the nutritive value of organic food products report rather contrasting results related to better nutritional value of organic food as some studies claim for instance that the concentration of vitamin C is higher in organically grown foods while other studies introduce opposite results. The reason for these contrasting results may, however, be attributed to the use of differing research methods.

The better taste of the organic food is yet rather arguable factor as while some studies have reported results according to which organic food products do indeed taste better than conventional food products, there are other studies stating that there is no difference in the taste between these two product categories. The research results concerning the taste of organic food appear thus to be connected to the consumption habits of each respondent. (Yiridoe et al. 2005: 195).

2.2.2 Organic food consumers

Although altruistic reasons such as values related to the environment, ecology, animal welfare as well as rural and local development have motivated organic food consumption, the majority of the consumers of organic food products like to refer to more egoistic reasons including individual health, food safety as well as the quality and flavor of food (Vega-Zamora et al. 2013: 52). Also Yiridoe et al. (2005: 194) state that when making a decision to purchase organic food consumers compare several characteristic of that particular product; the most important characteristics include *general* (i.e. food safety, health, environment, animal welfare) and *commodity-specific* attributes (i.e. visual appeal, nutritional value, taste, freshness). Nasir and Karakaya (2014: 264-265) continue that the health benefits and the concern for the environment are the most frequently mentioned motivators of the consumption of organic food in previous studies. Those consumers who are interested in the health issues and the environment were more likely willing to pay higher prices of organic food products than other consumers. In addition, consumers who purchase organic food products are

more concerned about the safety issues related to food than consumers purchasing conventional food products.

According to Hughner et al. (2007: 96) most of the studies portray organic food consumer as an elderly (although not a senior) female having children who live in the same household. Although younger consumers have more positive attitudes towards organic food products it is the older consumers who actually buy these products. This can be partly explained by the economical position of the elderly consumers who are capable to pay the price premium of organically farmed food. The role of income level and education affecting to consumption of organic food has not been indicated so clearly though as there are both positive and negative relationships between the organic food consumption and these variables. Gracia and Magistris (2008: 388) in turn refer to a study conducted in Denmark, which states that higher level of income and education as well as higher age increased remarkably the likelihood of being a heavy-user of organic food products. As this result does not apply to light consumers it conforms those results introduced by Hughner et al. (2007: 96) in which they argued that older consumers were more likely those who purchased organic food items. Thus, these results do not conflict with each other after all.

Another group that are interested in organic food products are families with newborn babies (Hughner et al. 2007: 96). A life event such as this often makes people to change their everyday routines (including their food consumption habits) towards sustainability. Organically produced food among e.g. minimally processed, regional and seasonal, as well as plant-based foods is products considered to be a basis for sustainable nutrition. (Schäfer et al. 2007: 115-116). Aertsens et al. (2009: 1151) state that there are a few studies according to which having a child increased the consumption of organic products in the families. The main reason for this to happen was to ensure that the children stayed healthy. Magkos et al. (2006: 24) argue, that according to some studies, the organic labeling of baby food has been viewed as a more important factor by the consumers than the actual nutrient content of the food.

The consumption of organic food products is also linked with alternative lifestyle including environmentalism, vegetarianism, and alternative medicine. The last-mentioned choice of lifestyle is related to people who strongly associate health with their eating habits and believe that healthy diet replaces the use of pharmaceutical products in managing illnesses. Additionally, the consumers of organic food products tend to be concerned about environmental and animal welfare, are interest in cooking and are less religious than other consumers. (Hughner et al. 2007: 96-101). Hamzaoui Essoussi and Zahaf (2008: 96) agree on this description by introducing typical organic products consumers who “are somehow vegetarian/vegans, care about the environment, are health conscious, buy OF [organic food] to support local farmers, do not trust big corporations, and are willing to pay a premium price to purchase OF products”.

Freeman and Bell (2013: 339) state that consumption shapes the self-identity of an individual powerfully because by consuming in a certain way people are actually expressing who they wish to be and to whom they wish to be associated

with. Hence, people have a tendency to construct their perceptions of self through relationships with other people.

2.3 Emotions

For the purposes of this thesis a numerous amount of data sources were studied that discussed emotions from several viewpoints. The definition of emotions varied depending on the approach of each researcher. The factor that were common for the vast majority the sources was that they emphasized how complex and ambiguous emotions are and how difficult it is to get information about them.

2.3.1 Defining emotions

The literature about emotions separates terms “emotion”, “affect”, “mood”, and “attitude” from each other although the definition of each term varies depending on a source (Bagozzi et al. 1999: 185). According to Johnson and Stewart (2005: 5), affect is used as a generic term that aggregates emotion, mood, and attitude. Bagozzi et al. (1999: 184) state that affect may also be regarded as a general category for mental feeling processes instead of specific psychological processes. Attitudes, in turn, can be correlative to emotions as they can be part of the knowledge structure of beliefs shaping emotional reactions. Nevertheless, as attitudes are mainly assumed to have cognitive and behavioral components they are rather distinct from emotions. The same distinction applies to mood since mood states are often separated from any specific event. Mood and emotions are usually distinct by their duration and intensity so that moods last longer and are not as intense as emotions. (Johnson & Stewart 2005: 5). When it comes to duration of emotions, Koenig-Lewis et al. (2014: 96) add that they commonly last only a limited amount of time from a few minutes to a few hours whereas Bagozzi et al. (1999: 184) argue that mood lasts from a few hours to several days. However, Johnson and Stewart (2005: 5) as well as Bagozzi et al. (1999: 184) agree that there can be exceptions related to the duration and intensity of emotion and mood. Additionally, unlike moods, emotions are usually intentional and coupled with explicit actions (Bagozzi et al. 1999: 184-185).

Bagozzi et al. (1999: 184) describe emotion as a mental state of readiness which, for instance, emerges from cognitive appraisals of thoughts, may result in particular actions, and is usually expressed physically. Lane and Nadel (1999: 3), continue that emotion can be viewed as a result of an evaluation of the extent to which a person’s objectives are being met when interacting with the environment. This kind of evaluation usually requires some type of cognitive process. Johnson and Stewart (2005: 5), in turn, argue that unlike being a general feeling, emotions are mental states with specific referents and they “are experienced in relation to situations or targets that have implications for the individual’s goals or well-being”.

Although it is challenging to classify emotions, there still are several studies that attempt to do so (i.e. Koenig-Lewis et al. 2014: 96; Laros and Steenkamp 2005: 1140-1142). Since this thesis examines emotions from a social constructive viewpoint there is no need to present those classifications any further. The most general level of classifying the emotions in the studies mentioned above divide them into negative and positive emotions. Since more detailed classification would require deeper knowledge about the formation of emotions, they will be discussed only in the broadest level in the empirical part of this thesis.

2.3.2 Social constructionist approach to emotions

Like stated earlier, this thesis will regard emotions related to the consumption of organic food products from the social constructionist viewpoint. Therefore some basic factors concerning social constructionism are introduced next.

Social constructionism concentrates on the processes by which humans describe and explain the world. It tries to introduce the general forms of understanding in a way they are existing or have, will and might exist. (Gergen 1985: 266). According to Deighton and Grayson (1995: 661), social constructionism can be viewed as social interaction which target is a “working consensus” that cannot be sustained. It studies how agreements between social actors shape the interactions of these actors. These agreements are understood as unspoken rules about the suitable behavior in the society.

A classic example of social constructionist approach to emotions is a study by Durkheim from the early years of the twentieth century, where he studied the actions of mourners in funeral services of Australian aborigines. In this study Durkheim found that the mourning was not so much related to private feelings of loss but rather a ritual which is forced to adopt by the mourners for custom. The view of Durkheim’s adds legitimacy to the argument that social constructionist approach is inspired by symbolic interactionism. (Fisher & Chon 1989: 1). According to Durkheim’s view of social constructionism, there is no plasticity in the emotions. In addition, there is no requirement of individual’s own interpretation of the situation where a certain emotion is experienced. Instead of individual interaction, the interpretation of emotions is achieved by collective interaction and specific emotions are combined with specific situations like the study about Australian aborigines demonstrates. (Fisher & Chon 1989: 5-6). By citing the study of Durkheim, Fisher and Chon (1989: 8) want to emphasize the importance of examining emotions in the context of groups as society consists of groups and certain emotions have social causes because these groups supply its members with the definitions of situations. Durkheim linked the biologically given emotions to social situations which is important since the organic component of emotions should be recognized because they are the basis of socially constructed emotions. Unlike some later research, the study of Durkheim introduced the idea according to which the expression of collective emotions is crucial in order to maintain the society.

Although there has been several studies conducted about emotions from social constructionist viewpoint after the research by Durkheim, his ideas can be regarded as forming the substrate for the way the emotions are viewed in this thesis.

2.3.3 Social functions of emotions

According to sociology of emotions the interaction between people is constrained by their location in social structures. This location is guided by the culture which symbols regulate both the cognitive appraisal (general definitions of self, other, and situations) and emotional arousal. "Culture" is created by the humans and its key elements include emotional ideologies, emotion stocks of knowledge, emotions vocabularies, and feeling and display rules which are further used to direct the cognitions of an individual as well as social structure. (Stets & Turner 2008: 32-33).

On the everyday life people experience challenging situations that emotions help them to process. Emotions support in the development and maintenance of social relationships as well as in the establishment of social position relative to others. (Fischer & Manstead 2008: 456). There is always a degree of emotion involved in any relationship between two persons. These kind of interpersonal emotions are usually related to close relationships like the ones between families and friends but they can also be applied to communal relations in general. According to previous studies, people tend to experience similar emotions than their peers are experiencing as they share the same emotional perspective and assess emotional situations in a similar way with one another. (Fischer & Manstead 2008: 458).

The two general social functions of emotion are *affiliation* which refers to entailing the promotion of relationships and *social distancing* which refers to entailing the separation from the others. These functions can take place both in interpersonal and group level. (Fischer & Manstead 2008: 456-457). In relation with organic food products the consumers purchasing them can be regarded as members of a group that consume organic food products. Fischer and Manstead (2008: 461) introduce "group-based emotion" which refers to the idea that people belonging to a certain social group experience more similar emotions because they share the similar concerns. The emergence of group-based emotions does not necessary require the presence of other group members but it is the shared concern with other group members that makes the emotion a group emotion. Hence, those consumers of organic food products who are concerned for instance by the state of the environment or the animal welfare, are most likely to experience similar emotions even they were not within each other's presence.

Fischer and Manstead (2008: 461) also refer to the self-categorization theory (SCT) which states that if the personal identity of an individual as a member of a certain group is salient, he/she reacts emotionally with issues related to that particular group. In case of this thesis, the interviewees who considered themselves as part of a group consuming organic food products were

more emotionally involved with the consumption of these products than those consumers who did not consume organic food products. For these consumers the consumption of organic food is thus salient.

2.3.4 Emotions and food

Because the topic of the thesis is related to emotions and organic food products, a brief review about how emotions and food are connected with each other should be appropriate. Even though the topic is more involved with consumption of food than eating the food, it is fair to say that the aim of the consumers who purchase food is to use it for nutritional purposes. Therefore emotions regarding eating the consumed food should not be excluded completely.

The relationship between food, eating behavior, characteristics of the individual, and emotions has been a matter of interest of several studies. It is generally acknowledged that the human eating behavior is affected by various emotions. (Desmet & Schifferstein 2008:290; Canetti et al. 2002: 157). This eating behavior is influenced by food itself but also the social and physical environment of the eater (Desmet & Schifferstein 2008: 290).

It is commonly recognized that the change in humans emotional arousal (e.g. anxiety, anger, joy, and sadness) impact to their eating behavior. Nevertheless, as the relationship between emotions and eating varies depending on the characteristics of the individual and the specific emotional state he/she is in, it is not possible to draw strict conclusions about that relationship. When one particular emotion (such as happiness or depression) occurs more frequently in eating context than other emotions the relationship between that emotion and eating behavior is relatively strong. (Canetti et al. 2002: 157-158). This frequency of emotions may affect also to the consumption decisions of organic food products since if a consumer for instance like a taste of certain organic product (i.e. organic apple), the feelings he/she experiences while eating it can contribute to his/her future purchasing behavior.

Studying the comparison of different emotions related to food has been relatively rare; most of these studies have examined the relationship between different emotions and the food intake and thus are more or less related to obesity (Canetti et al. 2002: 158). However, there are a few studies that may be applied to the purposes of this thesis. One study found that humans feeling positive emotions were more likely to consume healthy food whereas feeling negative emotions lead to consumption of junk food. Another study states that feelings of anger increased impulsive eating while feelings of joy encourage hedonic eating. So according to these results, people ate carelessly any kind of food available while they were angry whereas tendency to eat the pleasant tasting or healthy food increased while they were happy. Additionally, as anger and joy are experienced more frequently than sadness and fear, they also have stronger impact in the eating habits. (Canetti et al. 2002: 158; Desmet & Schifferstein 2008: 290). The results of these studies can be adapted especially to those consumers

who consider organic food healthier or tastier than other food types and so feeling positive emotions would encourage them to purchase organic food.

2.3.5 Emotions and consumer purchase decisions

The role of emotions related to consumer behavior has been studied widely and it has covered areas like the emotional responses to advertising, the formation of satisfaction judgements, and the processes of consumer decision making. However, the formation of a theory which would have an ability to capture the intricacy of emotional response as a part of consumer behavior process is still in the making. Although it is a known fact that emotional responses between different consumers and their consumption experiences vary it is not apparent how such experiences impact to the emotional responses because similar consumption experiences can evoke differing emotional responses even within a same person depending on a current situation. (Johnson & Stewart 2005: 3).

Although the emotions related to the consumption decisions of organic food are rather identical to the emotions connected to consumption decisions in general, it is important to study emotions in relation to particularly organic food products in order to discover the possible differences that cannot be applied to generic consumption decisions. The relationship between emotions and consumers has been researched quite broadly indeed but the amount of studies concerning the connection of emotions and purchasing of organic food remains relatively low. Most of the studies concerning the consumption of organic food are using rational-choice-based models of buyer behavior such as the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) by Fishbein and Ajzen and the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) by Ajzen (Koenig-Lewis et al. 2014: 95). According to Uusitalo (1997: 20), both of these theories are suitable to predict certain behavior as instead of studying one's attitude towards a particular product they examine the attitude towards a certain kind of behavior.

Besides these mentioned theories there are some other ones that have also been applied like cognitive-emotive hierarchy as well as means-end theory and laddering techniques (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1141-1142). Here are couple of examples of researches that studied the relationship of emotions and consumption of organic food and their results.

In his study about the consumption values of organic food buyers Finch (2005: 66) defined five primary consumption values: functional, social, emotional, epistemic, and conditional. According to his definition, emotional value "is often associated with the evaluation of aesthetic alternatives. Choices driven by emotional values are made for their ability to arouse desired emotions or feelings. Choices of an aesthetic nature can be heavily influenced by the ability of the choice to produce specific feelings." In the factor analysis part of his study Finch (2005: 68) extracted three emotional values including positive emotions, comfort with non-organic, and confusion of which the last-mentioned was then used as a subject of further research. Confusion towards organic food appeared to be a common feeling especially among those consumers who do not purchase

currently or those who do not purchase organic products at all (Finch (2005: 75). Although the results of this study referred mainly to those consumers who do not purchase organic food products, it is important especially for the producers and marketers to acknowledge what kind of feelings prevent the consumption of organic food. With that knowledge they can promote such products in a reasonable way and so increase the market share of organic food products.

Another example is a study by Verhoef referred to on by Aertsens et al. (2009: 1146) which concerned the choice and purchase of organic meat in the Netherlands. This study states that the purchasing decisions of organic meat can be determined by emotions. According to Gracia and Magistris (2008: 388), the results of this study indicated that emotions together with environmental considerations and socio-demographics of the consumers affected on the purchasing frequency but however not on the choice of consumption. This is an interesting result since many studies have discussed that the preference of organic food products does not equal to the frequency of their consumption. Hence, an individual may favor organic food instead of conventional food but still keeps purchasing conventionally produced products. From the viewpoint of producers and marketers it is important to acknowledge that even though emotions do not necessarily persuade new organic consumers they may affect to the purchasing frequency of those consumers who already include organic food product to their groceries shopping routine.

2.3.6 Women and emotions

The data for the empirical part of this thesis was gathered from a Finnish women's magazine called *MeNaiset*. Even though some of the quotations referred to on the empirical part were from media texts in which the quoted individual was a man and so the opinions related to the emotions the consumption of organic food evoked were not solely from a female viewpoint, one should keep in mind that as the texts were published in a magazine targeted for women the target audience of these texts were also women. Several studies have found that there are differences in the ways women and men deal with emotions. Therefore these differences are discussed briefly in this chapter.

Women are considered to be more emotional than men in variety of different cultures. Studies conducted in North America claim that the areas women differ from men are emotional intensity, emotional expressiveness, and the skill in the emotional use of non-verbalism. This applies especially for expression of emotions whereas the experience of emotions does not differ so obviously. (Brody & Hall 2008: 396).

Both Brody and Hall (2008:396) and Feldman Barrett et al. (1998: 556) claim that men are more likely than women to express anger whereas women claim that their emotional experiences are more intense and more frequent and that they are more emotional in general than men. Feldman Barrett et al. (1998: 557) argue, however, that the differences between genders appear only in situations where men and women are describing their previous emotional experiences. The

expectations related to each gender may for their part make both men and women to act according to what is expected from their gender (i.e. "I am a woman, and women are emotional, therefore I must be emotional" and vice versa). These differences will probably vanish when people describe their emotional experiences immediately after they have taken place.

In their study about sex-related emotion differences Feldman Barrett et al. (1998: 566) found that both genders used the same stereotypical adjectives when describing their emotional differences. Women argued that they were more intense, open, and sensitive to their feelings than men. However, there was no difference in the average experience of specific emotions if they were measured without delay after dyadic social interactions since both men and women reported the same amounts of feelings such as happiness, sadness, and anger. According to these study results, some of the differences between the genders are more likely learned than biological facts. However, as the general presumption of our culture is that women are more emotional than men, the magazines targeted especially for women discuss emotions differently than other types of magazines. Hence, it is rather expected that media texts in women's magazines may have an emotional touch. In order to better understand women's magazines as a source of data for a study concerning feelings related to organic food consumption, other features that are typical for these magazines are introduced in the next chapter.

2.4 Women's magazines as a data source

2.4.1 The characteristics of women's magazines

Unlike the newspapers, the purpose of the magazines has always been to pay attention to the needs, hopes, and fears of its readers. Thus, there are special features related to magazines that do not apply to other type of printed media. The identification process of magazine readers is usually done according to particular phases. The target audience of a magazine is defined first and the contents of the magazine is then decided based to the desires of that target audience. A bond that is created with the readers and the magazine is used for contributing community-like interactions within one another. Accordingly, this bond enables the magazines to react promptly and flexibly to changes in both their readerships and the whole society. (Holmes 2007: 514).

The history of women's magazines dates back to more than 300 years (The Independent 2008). In the past the women's magazines concentrated on advising the women to fulfill the needs of their families instead of supporting them to find a way to implement their own ideas as part of their lives. It was not until the 1960s that the image of women as feminine housewives was questioned but it took still several years before first magazines discussing women's achievements outside home were published. (Gauntlett 2002: 50-52).

Nowadays women's magazines represent their readers a source of reference for identity construction. Women tend to refer to the media in many social situations that construct their self-identity and the media in turn helps women to construct that identity by enabling them "to go beyond their immediate surroundings and experiences". (Freeman & Bell 2013: 340). There are several factors that connect women's magazines with one another: for instance, by adapting an intimate tone the readers would regard the magazines as their friends. The women's magazines also organize around the shared pleasures of femininity and dissociate themselves from masculinity as well as adapt the language of individualism that emphasizes personal solutions. (Gill 2007: 183). Hence, the decline of the overall interest towards magazines has not affected to women's magazines and they have been able to hold their market. The buyers of women's magazines have been described as loyal: one study claims that 35 per cent of women purchase the same magazine monthly. (Freeman & Bell 2013: 340).

When it comes to the critique about women's magazines, Gill (2007: 192) claims that their content can be occasionally inconsistent. There might be contradictions related to i.e. fashion and beauty advice but also in the discussion of sex, emotional advice and career guidance. In these three last-mentioned areas the inconsistency may have a notable effect on the readers' lives depending on how seriously they react to the advice given by the magazine. According to study results of Gauntlett (2002: 205), women indeed may regard the ideas of magazines directed for them contradictory and confusing. The degree of contradiction involved in the material gathered for this thesis seemed to be rather minimal or even negligible but one should take into consideration that these kinds of features may still exist in the analyzed texts.

Another factor that Gill (2007: 195) points out is the debate of whether the magazines should be analyzed as something that brings pleasure to the reader or something that promotes oppressive ideology related with womanhood. This debate may be related to the topic of this thesis as one may consider what kind of approach McNaiset magazine takes to the consumption of organic food products. If the goal of McNaiset is to bring pleasure to its readers the approach may be positive and supporting but if it aims to put pressure related to the consumption decisions on its readers the approach would not be that harmless anymore. However, the readers of women's magazines seem to be aware of the problematics concerning these magazines and they do not have full trust in every single word written in them. Instead, between the conflicting interests of the editors, advertisers, society, and self, the readers create their own meanings from the discourses the magazines introduce. (Freeman & Bell 2013: 340). The respondents of the study by Gauntlett (2002: 206) seemed to agree on this by stating that they did not take the overall content of magazines too seriously. These results have lead the researcher to assume that those people who take a cautious attention to the texts of women's magazines, are underrating the capability of the readers to critique the content of such magazines. However, there is a possibility that even these selective readers might still absorb some messages of the magazines too seriously without noticing it themselves.

When viewing women's magazines as a source for data for the thesis, one should remember their commercial nature and that they have been established in order to make profit for their publishers. Although advertisements were excluded from the data, one must remember that they are a vital part of any magazine. Gill (2007: 181) argues that the importance of advertising to magazines is difficult to exaggerate as approximately half of the content of women's magazines in general consist of advertisement and the majority of the profits of magazines originates from the sales of advertisement space. In order to attract advertisers the magazine publishers have to attract those kinds of readers that are appealing to the advertisers. Generally speaking, attractive reader is "young, aspirational or upwardly mobile, and with lots of disposable income". Thus, in order to attract the advertisers and their money, the magazines consist of content that is attractive to readers that represent the type described above. This is a feature that differentiates the magazines from other sources of data often used in scientific researches and so should be taken into consideration when evaluating texts that were used as material for this thesis.

2.4.2 Green consumerism and women's magazines

The consumption decisions are often reflecting the valuations of the consumers. By making a certain consumption decision the consumers may, for instance, satisfy their physical needs, save time, reduce the amount of work, or appeal to their senses (i.e. taste). Instead of solely individual matter, there is a social dimension in consumption as well: by making purchasing decisions the consumers are signaling their wealth and social status to people around them. (Starr 2004: 294). The consumers of organic food products base their purchasing decisions according to their valuations as these products both provide them with personal pleasure but also impact to the image they wish to present to the others. Hence, there is always more than just one dimension affecting to the consumption decisions of the organic food consumers.

Even though the motivational factors encouraging the consumption of organic food products are numerous and thus ecological viewpoint is only one of them, in the context of this thesis the relationship between women's magazines and green consumerism should be discussed. Because the data for the empirical part of the thesis was gathered from women's magazine, it is important to consider the message this magazine aims to transmit to its readers.

Consumption signals the way a consumer perceives him/herself and the way the consumer wants to be perceived. The purchasing decisions are not based on concrete products attributes but also the symbolic value of that product. The mass media has an important role as shaping consumer behavior because even though people understand the idealized character of media representations, they are still affected by the messages of the media. (Starr 2004: 295). As this chapter discusses the relationship of women's magazine to organic food as part of green consumerism, one should keep in mind that the media has an ability to effect on

the consumption decisions of the consumers rather vigorously and this applies also to the consumption of organic food products.

When it comes to the research concerning green consumerism in the mass media from a perspective of women's magazine, Smith (2010: 66) claims that the number of studies have been quite narrow. The results related to the issue are also rather contradictory: although some actors have credited women's magazines about their contribution to green consumerism, many others argue that the efforts of these magazines to influence their readers in a way that promotes this type of consumerism remains scarce (Smith 2010: 68).

When the points of interests regarding this thesis as discussed, one should consider the message related to organic food consumption women's magazines like to transmit. The advertisers buying advertisement space from the magazines are naturally concerned that the magazine promotes similar ideas in their journalistic articles than the advertisement. In case of MeNaiset magazine, although the advertising was excluded from the data of this thesis, there still was some ads that featured different organic food brands. So from this viewpoint the articles discussing the consumption of organic food products were to some extent supporting the aims of the advertisements to promote their products to the readers of the magazine.

On the other hand, although MeNaiset is a commercial publication, there may be other aspects in the promotion of organic food consumption than just the viewpoint of business. The editorial objective of the magazine may aim to emphasize the consumption of these products as a part of a more sustainable lifestyle. It is important to pay attention also to this perspective since it is not definite that these kinds of decisions are completely bound with the commercialism but there can be other values involved as well. In her study about women's magazines and green consumerism Smith (2010: 79-80) states that the consumption of "green" products such as organic food provides the consumer with prestige without any political investment. She refers to "a prestige cycle" which wealthier female consumers perpetuate with their purchasing decisions and such behavior is in turn imitated by other female consumers. However, besides the potential of green consumerism to be "a symbolic way to confront environmental problems and create a green identity", it was not utilized in its full potential in the articles reviewed for that particular research.

3 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Research method

The research was conducted as a qualitative research. Auerbach (2003: 3) states that the purpose of qualitative research is to analyze and interpret written and spoken sources in order to find meaningful patterns about the studied phenomenon. Qualitative methods are generally used in the researches concerning social and behavioral sciences and are therefore suitable for studying the behavior of individuals (Ghuri & Grønhaug 2002: 87). Hence, the objective of the research project determined the choice of the research method for this study as the topic concerns the consumption behavior and purchasing decisions of the organic food consumers.

3.2 Research problem and research questions

The topic of this thesis is “Legitimizing the consumptions of organic food products by emotions” so the research problem was to find out if the consumers who consume organic food products legitimating their consumption decisions with emotions and if so, how do they do it in practice. The selection of the research questions that would answer to the research problem as accurately as possible required careful consideration. As a result of thorough deliberation there are one main research question and two sub questions, which are as follows:

The main research question:

How do the consumers use emotions to legitimate the consumption of organic food products?

Sub questions:

What kind of emotions encourage the decisions to consume organic food products?

What legitimization strategies are used to legitimate the consumption of organic food products?

3.3 Data collection

The first phase of data collection took place between November 2013 and February 2014. The data was collected from a Finnish women's magazine called *MeNaiset* between November 2013 and February 2014. All the media texts including word 'organic' ('luomu') or its relations were collected from a Finnish women's magazine called *MeNaiset* from the first issue of year 2000 until the last issue of year 2013. As there are 50 issues published every year the number of issues that were browsed through was altogether 700. Because the articles were written for other purposes than as a data for this study, the data used was secondary data. Secondary data is typically data collected by someone else than the researcher him/herself and thus it is not collected the certain research question at hand (Cowton 1998: 424).

In the second phase the useful material was again processed in order to find the texts suitable for the purposes of this thesis. At this point all the texts concerning other organic issues (i.e. organic cosmetics) than organic food were excluded as were the advertisements of organic food and other similar texts. The purpose was to find those texts in which there were either celebrities or ordinary individual interviewed concerning subjects other than organic food as such. The texts used as data considered either general issues, or they were related to more specific issues such as cooking or usage of money. There was one article related to consumption of organic food products which was at the end excluded as the number of quotations concerning organic food was so large that they would have distort the study results. Additionally, the idea was to concentrate on texts that are generally discussing some other issues than the consumption of organic food but in which the individual him/herself decided to introduce this subject. However, short texts in which the individual was asked for instance about his/her opinion of genetically modified food were included to the data of this thesis.

The number of quotations used as data was altogether 55 and these quotations were from 43 articles. The quotations were from media texts in which the journalist interviewed either one or more individuals at the same time. Because the texts used were originally written in interview formation they aimed at representing the viewpoints of the individuals in question instead of the editorial view of *MeNaiset* magazine. However, as the texts were secondary data that has been edited by the magazine prior their publishing there is always a risk

of bias regarding to what was actually said by the quoted individual and the way the journalist interpreted these citations, like stated by Cowton (1998: 428).

3.4 Data analysis

Once the data was collected according to principles determined for the purposes of this thesis, it was organized by using argumentation analysis as a supporting method. In this kind of analysis the language used is in the scope of research. The Western philosophy and science as a whole are based on the discussion about argumentation, debate, and rhetoric. These concepts can be used to clarify the difference between scientific research and other forms of information. When compared to these other information forms, scientific research needs to be more comprehensive, systematic, and critical in its reasoning as well as consider different aspects. (Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Heinlahti 2006: 7-8).

Kakkuri-Knuuttila and Heinlahti (2006: 14) state that word “argument” in the context of discourse analysis refers either to reasoning by itself or reasoning and affirmation together and one should pay attention to which of the meanings is in question at the time. Discourse analysis has an intrinsic value as a provider of information because it categorizes the linguistic acts by which individuals together create their shared social reality. However, since the linguistic actions to which a certain study is based on varies every time, the researched topics can be never fully examined. (Juhila & Suoninen 2002: 244-245). This feature mentioned separates discourse analysis from many other data analyzing methods which one must carefully consider when using this method for the purposes of his/her study.

There are numerous sources of empirical materials to be used when drawing a discourse analysis such as newspaper articles, political statements, and informal interviews, to name but a few. In order to broaden the amount of possible data for discourse analysis, one should concentrate on analyzing the text by paying attention to any events, objects or processes which permeate with meaning to interpretation. (Wooffitt 2005: 85). The texts used as a data for this thesis enabled the analysis of emotions affecting the consumption decisions of organic food because they provided possibilities to interpret their contents in way that was suitable for the purposes of this study.

3.5 Argumentation and emotions

This thesis is concentrating on arguments by which individual legitimate their consumption of organic food products and the approach to legitimation are the feelings of these individuals. However, the relationship between argumentation and emotions is not really simple. There are several non-argumentative reasons

that are unacceptable in good argumentation and according to Ylikoski (2004: 161) one of them is emotions. The relationship between acceptable argumentation and emotion can be described to be quite controversial: on the other hand emotions are external to argumentation whereas the aim of argumentation is often to be emotive. As the main objective of argumentation is to compose rational opinions, the situations where emotions prevent the critical evaluation of the argument should be strictly avoided. The writer can affect the audience's emotions e.g. by threatening them, by provoking their feelings, or by subtly flattering them.

The aim of the individuals quoted from the texts used as a data for this thesis seems to be to convince the readers of *McNaiset* magazine by discussing their views about organic food consumption in seemingly rational tune. However, probably unintentionally, their aim seems to be to appeal to the emotions of the readers.

The responsibility to avoid a situation where emotions impede evaluating the argument lies on both the writer and the audience. If one of the sides is lacking the willingness to respect the principles of argumentation the results of the discussion should not be treated as the end result of acceptable argumentations. One should notice that emotions affect to the evaluation of the arguments often unconsciously and even unintentionally. Therefore the both sides should actively be involved with reflecting their own reasoning and arguments in order to avoid possible non-argumentative elements. (Ylikoski 2004: 161).

Another way by which emotions should be excluded from argumentation is related to their position as basis for beliefs. Emotions are not an acceptable reason to believe factual claims: fear, adoration, or affection towards someone or something is not a reason to believe claims about them. Hence, the veritability or falsehood of the considered matters is not dependent on what kind of feelings the audience is attaching them. (Ylikoski 2004: 161).

However, emotions play an important role when it comes to situation where the argumentative person has to appeal to his/her audience in order to motivate them to participate in the argumentation. In such context appealing to the emotions enhance the targets of critical argumentation. The emotions are important also when the aim of the argumentation is a certain action rather than an approval of a particular claim. Besides reasoning, taking action requires desire and other motivational factors. Provoking such motivations is acceptable as long as it does not conflict with the principles of good argumentation. (Ylikoski 2004: 161-162).

Argument and emotion cannot be totally separated as the strongest arguments are in most cases based on the strongest emotions. Additionally, as people can be persuaded to act in a way which serves their needs and wants, the "cost" argument will invariably remain. (Huber & Snider 2006: 4).

4 EMOTIONS RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF ORGANIC FOOD

Once the data for this thesis was gathered, it was organized according to the feelings and emotional factors emerging from the quotations. Even though the purpose of this thesis was not to find the factors that motivate consumers to purchase organic food products, it was quite obvious from the beginning that the motivational factors found in the previous studies also appeared in the texts that were used as a data for this thesis. For instance, in their study about consumer segments in organic foods market, Nasir and Karakaya (2014: 265) used segments such as health orientation, socially responsible consumption, environmental responsibility, and values and lifestyles as indicators of consumption of organic food products. From the data gathered for this thesis emerged similar factors than the segments introduced by Nasir and Karakaya. In this thesis, they are called themes instead of i.e. segments or motivational factors. The themes found are as follows: organic food related to environmental concerns, taste of organic food, organic food related to health concerns, locally produced organic food, the price premium of organic food, and organic food related to transition to parenthood. There were also some quotations in which the consumption of organic food was regarded as negative and thus were excluded from being part of any of these themes. These quotations by individuals who do not consume organic food products are discussed separately.

4.1 Negative emotions and the consumption of organic food

4.1.1 Negative attitudes

Although one may assume that consumers who purchase organic food products would relate only positive emotions to their consumption decisions, the majority of the emotions that encouraged the consumption of organic food products can

be viewed as negative. Some of the consumers seem to have chosen to consume organic food because they were afraid of the impacts similar conventional food products would have on them. Another group who related negative emotions such as fear to the consumption of organic food products were the ones that were concerned about the state of environment in general and wanted to improve that state for instance by purchasing organic food products. Negative feelings emerged also as a trigger for the consumption of organic food products related with becoming a parent.

As mentioned earlier, there were some individuals whose feelings towards organic food products was so negative that they insisted not to buy these kind of products at all. The quotations of these texts are discussed here in this section. The firstly quoted individual is interested in food quality but does not consider organic food to be better than conventional food.

“I love cooking and I prefer good quality and domestic ingredients. I am not fooled by organic products as they do not bring any added value to the taste of food. For example, domestic beef steak tastes a lot better as a conventional version. We are consuming it several kilos a month.”

MN 9/2013:11

This individual rates the taste of the food as one of the main priorities when making a purchasing decision. She feels pleased with her choice of buying conventional food products and gets irritated by those who try to convince the others that organic food is somewhat better in taste than conventional food. Accordingly, these negative emotions prevent her from buying organic food products because like she states, organic food products “do not bring any added value to the taste of food”. Hence, in order to avoid the possible disappointment the consumption of organic food would provide this individual instead purchases conventional food products which make her feel positive.

The next quotation is made by an individual who expresses his negative feelings related to organic food products rather directly and seem to be satisfied with his decision to purchase conventional food instead.

“I am annoyed when people in the magazines say that they only cook organic food. I, for once, buy spinach pancakes from the store or pick up a takeout from a Nepalese restaurant.”

MN 40/2011: 35

This individual gets irritated by people who consider themselves excellent by boasting their decisions to consume organic food products. The quoted individual himself in turn likes to purchase the type of food which is considered unpopular among the people purchasing organic food such as convenience food. By acting this way he is kind of rebelling against the beliefs of those people and distancing himself from them. Hence, the feelings of annoyance have encouraged him not to consume organic food and instead to purchase conventional food

products. This is his way to hinder the negative feelings organic food consumption might evoke.

It is notable that the negative feelings of this individual emerging from organic food products are not related to the food itself but rather to the people who consume them. Thus, there are some strong preconceptions he relates to the organic food consumers and like stated in the previous paragraph, does not want to be associated as one of those consumers.

The two individuals quoted next, admit rather straightforwardly that they indeed are irritated by the values related to organic food and not so much about the food itself. They question the status that has been given to organic food products by the so called informed consumers and defend their own opposing views concerning its consumption.

"Indeed the hassle over organic and locally produced food has probably become today's indulgence. People are saving the world once or twice a week by buying these products but the rest of the week they are eating something else."

MN 34/2012: 104

"The people using organic products are regarded as the good ones as we who eat conventional food are the bad ones. There is a lot of making people feel guilty about themselves related to food nowadays."

MN 20/2011: 32

These individuals are referring to those situations in which organic products are considered as status symbols similar to expensive cars or designer clothes with which the consumers want to communicate their message to people around them. The individual referred to on the first quotation disparages those consumers who buy organic products to feel good about themselves by comparing this kind of behavior to the indulgence system of Catholic Church. Thus, by purchasing i.e. expensive yet ethical organic chicken for a weekend the consumer allows him/herself to buy regular and cheaper but conventionally farmed chicken on Monday without feeling guilt. This type of behavior apparently annoys this individual and his emotions have made him to contest if the way organic food products are consumed is really morally correct. Although this individual disparages the factor organic food products represent to their consumers he does not reveal if he purchases these products himself.

The other individual criticizes the status given to people purchasing organic products and that they are considered to be "better" than those who buy other kinds of products, in this case conventional food. This individual claims that people who consume organic food are regarded as superior compared to those who do not and that those conventional food consumers should feel ashamed about their purchasing decisions. However, the negative emotions resulting from not buying organic products do not exceed the easiness the use of conventional food which the individual describes to be more convenient for her

than organic food. The quotation is part of an article where the individual who is a researcher studying the eating habits of the consumers describes her own cooking regimes. Thus, she probably has a rather in-depth view on the beliefs related to the consumption of organic food products.

When these emotions of these quoted individuals are discussed from the social constructionist viewpoint they make it clear that they wish not to be associated with people who consume organic food products. Instead, they regard themselves as members of a group who “is not fooled” by the false promises the marketers of organic food provide their customers with and their emotions are supporting them to distance themselves from the members of group who is not as wise as they are. They feel superiority by the negative emotions organic food products and the consumption of these products evoke in them.

The individuals in other quoted texts did not have negative attitude towards organic food products as such but they were rather consuming organic food products in order to avoid the negative feelings that may possibly emerge from the consumption of other kind of food products. These negative emotions were highly linked with issues related to environmental and health concerns as well as to transition to parenthood. Even though these consumers did have positive overview towards organic food products, it was those negative feelings that had encouraged the consumption in the first place. Therefore these consumers are included to the group whose emotions were regarded as negative.

4.1.2 Environmental concerns

One theme that was brought up by in the texts related to negative feelings emerging from the consumption of organic food products was the concern about the state of the environment and the willingness of the consumers to improve that state with their purchasing decisions. These kinds of ideas can be linked with proenvironmental behavior that can be defined either as a behavior benefitting the environment (Stern 2000: 408) or as a behavior that aims to reduce the negative impacts caused by humans (Kollmuss & Agyeman 2002: 240). Hence, the first viewpoint emphasizes that the environment benefits from a certain kind of behavior whereas the latter perception states that the human activity is always more or less harmful for the environment. Carrus et al. (2008: 52) argue that both positive and negative emotions seem to effect on such a behavior.

When it comes to environmental concerns, animal welfare was an issue that was brought up in several quotations of the data. In their research about the moral emotions related to animal welfare Herzog and Golden (2009: 493) found that animal activists felt visceral disgust more likely than non-activists and that the disgust sensitivity correlated positively with animal welfare attitudes. They believe that the feeling of disgust may motivate some people to become advocates of animal rights.

The individual quoted first in relation to environmental concern has been witnessing herself the conditions of farmed animals which has raised anxiety

about their wellbeing. Based to her own experiences, she believes that organic farming would equate with better stock raising conditions.

"I was surprised about the severity of problems there is. There are good farms and then there are really pitiful farms and one cannot be sure when shopping in a store if this steak or a can of milk is from the good farm. The trust has disappeared. I have reduced eating of meat remarkably, now I eat only organic products or game. Organic products do not go without problems but there is a guarantee that the animal has been able to for example move freely and get some fresh air."

MN 46/2012: 28

The results of Herzog and Golden applies to some extent to this quoted individual who has negative feelings towards the conditions of farmed animals and therefore is concerned about their welfare. These emotions has led her to consume organic meat products instead of conventional ones as she believes that animals raised in the farming conditions required for organic meat products ensure the wellbeing of those animals.

Albeit this individual is aware of the fact that farming of organic livestock has its ethical problems, too, it does not prevent her consumption of such meat. From her viewpoint, she is entitled to consume meat as long as it is organic. Even though the individual recognizes the negative issues related with organic meat production she feels that eating organic meat products is a better option than eating conventional meat products. She considers herself as someone who promotes the wellbeing of farmed animals and thus shares the emotions with people interested in same issue. With these emotions she legitimates her consumption of organic food products.

4.1.3 Health concerns

Like stated earlier, food safety is an issue that has lately gained notable amount of attention in the public and it has become a factor impacting considerably to the consumers' purchasing decisions. Thus, healthiness of food was one of the main factor that affected to the consumption of organic food in the material gathered for this thesis. Like in the case of environmental concern, also in this theme many of the quoted individuals were encouraged to consume organic food by the negative feelings emerging from their thoughts about i.e. food safety.

Several quotations concerning the health concerns could have also be connected to other themes such as environmental concern. The two individuals quoted next mentioned also the environmental aspects but were more concerned with the idea of consuming organic food products because of its alleged healthiness.

"Nowadays I am omnivorous but ethical issues are still important for me. I purchase organic products and search for the informative labels of the groceries because I want us to avoid unnecessary food additives."
MN 20/2011: 34

"I buy fresh organic and vegetarian food. I prefer fair trade products. I never buy readymade meals because I want to avoid additives. For me the healthiness of the food is more important than its price."
MN 14/2006: 11

These individuals seem to be more interested in avoiding food additives than actually consuming organic food products. Their way to avoid these particular ingredients is to eat food they consider to contain as little additives as possible and they believe that organic food is the best option of such food. The claims supporting the beliefs of the healthiness of organic food products by these individuals were based on the assumption that organic food is free of redundant chemicals and additives. As stated earlier, organic food products can contain additives approximately 10 per cent of the amount used in conventional food products. Hence, there indeed are additives in organic food yet the amount is only a handful of the additives added to regular food.

These individuals feel nervous and worried about the consequences of eating conventional food and what it may cause to them. They believe that by eating food that contain food additives they are harming their bodies and risking their wellbeing. Hence, their negative feelings towards those additives has lead these individuals to preferably purchase organic food products. These individuals share their feelings not with each other but also all of the consumers who are afraid of the health issues related to additives and thus purchase organic food products instead of conventional ones.

4.1.4 Transition to parenthood

Like stated earlier, transition to parenthood often makes people to consider the sustainability of their consumption decisions (Schäfer et al. 2007: 115). A study concerning this issue proposes that people become very interested about nutritional issues during this life changing period. Their interest is extensively directed towards purchasing "organic, seasonal, regional and fresh food" which is not genetically modified. Health as well as ecological aspects are taken into consideration in one's dieting habits during this period of time. However, as careful decisions concerning the nutrition of their child is made, the consumption habits of the parents tend to be disregarded. (Schäfer et al. 2007: 119-121).

The individual quoted in relation to this transitional phase appreciated ecological and health in her everyday life already before becoming a parent.

"I respect humans and the nature and therefore I use organic and biodynamical farmed products. After the birth of my own child I have

invested even more in the cleanliness of food because I want to provide him with the best [available option].”

MN 6/2003: 58

It is well acknowledged that welcoming a child evokes various kinds of emotions in the minds of new parents. For example in the research about transition to motherhood, Nelson (2003: 472) discusses studies concerning the bond between a mother and a child. According to several studies, new mothers experienced that the attachment to a newborn child was unexpectedly strong and they were surprised by the depth of the feelings of love and protectiveness they felt towards their child.

The quoted individual, too, seems to feel attached with her child and therefore wants to feed him with the kind of food she considers to be clean and as harmless as possible. Accordingly, organic food is the best available option which is suitable for both her and her child contrary to conventional food which she presumably considers unclean and unnatural. It seems that the individual fears that by consuming conventional food products she will jeopardize not only her child but also the nature and other human beings. Consumption of organic food products instead hinders those feelings of fear and so makes the individual feel good about her purchasing decisions. These negative feelings towards conventional food connects this individual to those other people who have recently had a child and are thus contemplating with similar emotions related to their nutritional choices.

4.2 Positive emotions and the consumption of organic food

In their study about food and emotions, Desmet and Schifferstein (2008: 299) found that healthy individuals tend to feel positive emotions related to eating and tasting of food because people like to eat the type of food which has pleasant emotional impacts. They called this phenomenon a hedonic asymmetry. These results correlates with the material gathered for this study: the emotions linked with the themes that are connected to some tangible theme – instead of to more ideological theme – such as the taste of food seemed to be rather positive. A study claiming that Greek consumers attached feelings of “fun and enjoyment” with the consumption of organic fresh fruits and vegetables (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1144) are supporting these findings, too. Hence, those consumers who found the taste of organic food products be the main motivational factor for their purchasing decisions were likely to be encouraged by positive feelings. However, positive emotions emerged in all of the themes linked with the consumption of organic food products so for instance the decisions of the consumers concerned about their health were not solely encouraged by negative emotions but there appeared positive emotions, too.

In the first quotation related to positive emotions, the quoted individual expresses a rather undisputed claim concerning her purchasing decisions. Even though she is not telling it directly, it seems that the base of her purchasing choices is the alleged better taste of organic milk compared to conventional milk. The comment is an answer to a question "what do you always keep in your fridge" asked in the gossip column of *MeNaiset* magazine.

"There is always organic milk in my fridge; I never buy any other type of milk."

MN 23/2007: 84

This individual claims that organic milk is the only type of milk she ever buys. The use of word 'always' refers to the fact that there is no such situation where there was not organic milk in her fridge whereas word 'never' excludes the presence of other type of milk ever existing in her fridge. However, one should keep in mind that the original question itself was quite leading as it included the word 'always' in the first place.

Drinking milk is something that can be viewed as characteristic for the Finns and so the consumption of organic milk was brought up more than once in the material gathered for this thesis. Although the consumption of milk has decreased remarkably in Finland since the 1950s (Maito ja terveyst. 2015a), more than 60 per cent of over 15 years old Finns claimed to like the taste of milk 'a lot or somewhat lot' (Maito ja terveyst. 2015b). It seems that this quoted individual drinks a lot of milk and so this particular product is very important for her. Hence, she relates positive emotions to her consumption habits and those feelings encourage her to continue to consume this particular product the same way in the future. This individual shares the same emotions with other organic milk consumers who also legitimate their consumption decisions with these positive emotions they gain from it.

4.2.1 Price premium

One of the most emotive issues in our everyday life is money and the way it is used. Generally speaking, most of the consumers purchasing organic food seem to accept a price premium for such specially approved products. When it comes to food, this applies more often with food of animal origin than plant products. (Röhr et al. 2005: 654). Based on this factor, one may assume that the willingness to pay higher price of organic meat, eggs, or milk is greater than of organic vegetables, fruits, or berries.

Although higher price of organic food has been regarded as an obstacle for their consumption, this does not apply to those consumers who actually purchase organic food. Instead of feeling negative towards their price premium, the individuals quoted next seem to relate positive emotions to organic food products and legitimate their consumption decisions by referring to their

entitlement to use their money on these products. Here, three individuals were asked about products they like to spend their money in separate texts.

"We are also spending in good quality food and organic milk."
MN 42/2011: 38

"In good [quality] food. I love cooking and invest in domestic food products. I often buy organic products."
MN 46/2011: 43

"We like to buy organic food and spend also on travelling."
MN 30/2010: 12

Even though it was not asked specifically, all the individuals mentioned that organic food is that kind of product they usually spend their money on. The individual referred to on the first quotation views organic milk as an indulgence to which he is entitled to use his money. The verb "spend" or "splurge" ("tuhlata") has a little bit negative echo at least in the Finnish culture where talking about one's wealth is considered somewhat a taboo and people do not brag about their purchases. As food is a necessity for the humans it is probably more secure to mention as an object of spending without a fear of causing a stir compared i.e. to an expensive car.

The individual referred to on the second quotation is a well earning politician working in the European Parliament. She describes that working both in Finland and abroad is rather expensive and so she does not have that much of money to spend apart from those mandatory expenses such as living and travelling. By telling that she loves cooking it is apparent that she appreciates food of good quality and she does not mind to spend her spare money on such food. She emphasizes that she spends on domestic and organic food products thus revealing that she considers these particular products to present good quality.

The family of the individual of the third quotation links the consumption of organic food together with travelling as a leisure activity in which they are willing to splurge. They consume products they prefer, regardless of the amount of money they need to spend on them and by doing so they feel they are achieving something they find more valuable than the amount of money spent. The individual, however, links the word "spend" only to travelling and uses word "buy" in relation to organic food. Therefore she may consider organic food as a necessity rather than a luxury item and she does not mind that organic food costs more than conventional food.

Although especially the individuals referred to on first and second quotations consider that consumption of organic food products requires more money than the purchase of similar conventional products they seem not to be annoyed by this factor. Their overall emotions towards consumption of organic food products are rather positive and they are happy to purchase them even both

of them perhaps consider organic food products more expensive than similar conventional food products. The same applies to the individual quoted thirdly, too. These individuals consider themselves as part of a group that does not regard the price premium of organic food as a negative issue and so share the positive feelings related to the consumption of these products with other members of the same group. Hence, they legitimize their consumption by feeling entitled to decide themselves to purchase organic food products despite their higher price.

5 THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The methodological framework of this study is based on legitimation strategies by Van Leeuwen (2007). The use of this approach provides an opportunity for interpreting the data in way that is suitable for the purposes of this study. Hence, it is used as a methodological instead of a theoretical framework of this thesis because it does not provide a predetermined theory which one should follow precisely. In this chapter legitimation strategies are discussed in more detail and each strategy is applied to the gathered data by using a few examples.

5.1 Defining legitimation

Words 'legitimation' and 'legitimization' are used parallel to each other in the articles concerning the same term. For instance Van Leeuwen speaks about 'legitimation' whereas i.e. Reyes refers to 'legitimization' when discussing this subject matter. The use of these words is thus dependent of the scholars using them in their own articles and thus these words will be used in this thesis in the same form as they were used in their original context. In the empirical part of the thesis, the word 'legitimation' will be used to represent this approach.

According to Reyes (2011: 782), legitimization is "a justification of a behavior". The Latin word 'legitimus' (e.g. lawful legal) is related to 'lex/legis' (e.g. law, agreement), and so the term 'legitimization' has been referred to "making something legal or legalized". Currently, the word is used in other contexts varying e.g. from constructing the truth with the help of scientific evidence to legitimize cultural generalizations deriving from personal experiences. These personal experiences form often a base for generalizations e.g. about certain social or cultural phenomena.

The actual meaning of legitimacy is rather ambiguous. Even though legitimacy has been an important theme in various studies there are not many explicit analyses of legitimation. The concept of legitimation and its original context has been made understandable primarily by institutionally oriented analyses that have demonstrated that legitimacy and power are tightly linked. According to these analyses legitimacy has pragmatic, moral, and cognitive basis - the first referring to calculations involving self-interest, the second to normative approval, and the third to comprehensibility. As legitimation is also closely linked with institutionalization it may be viewed as a requirement for the institutionalization of e.g. specific ideas, practices, or changes. Simultaneously, many established ideas and practices do not require specific legitimation as they are easily considered legitimate. (Vaara et al. 2006: 790-791).

Legitimation is an important aspect when it comes to the way ideologies function through discourse. However, when compared to aspects like politeness or persuasion, legitimation has been studied rather narrowly. Legitimation can be viewed in relation with self-defense, since the agent seeking to legitimate it usually operates by providing reasons or acceptable motivations for actions criticized by others. Legitimation does not necessarily seek for a response to a particular attack which is the factor differentiating legitimation from defense or justification. (Breeze 2012: 4). Like described here, also the quoted individuals were looking for acceptance for their consumption decisions by legitimating those decisions with their emotions. They were not looking for justification for their actions although they were defending those actions by using emotions as their way to legitimate their decisions.

5.2 The reason for using legitimation strategy as a framework

Like discussed in the chapter concerning the emotions of the consumers in relation to their purchasing decisions of organic food products, there have been several approaches that have been used in the previous studies about this issue. During the research process many of the approaches were considered as a framework for this thesis but none of them seemed to be applicable for the research problem. Because the aim of the thesis was to find out how the consumers legitimate their consumption of organic food product by emotions, legitimation strategies were chosen as an approach. This approach has been earlier used for instance in studies concerning the rejection reasons of immigrant workers' family reunion applications by Austrian immigration authorities (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999) and global industrial restructuring in the media in pulp and paper sector (Vaara et al. 2006). It has been also widely used in the context of institutional studies (i.e. Breeze 2012; Van Leeuwen 2007). Although this approach has not been popular in studies examining emotions related to consumer decisions, it can be applied to the topic of this thesis because the aim of the thesis is to study how consumers legitimate their consumption. Like Reyes

(2011: 782) states, the argumentation arisen from legitimization process explains the social actions, ideas, and thoughts of people. So, the aim of legitimization is to seek the approval and support of others. There are several motivators behind this seeking of approval: one may try e.g. to obtain power or social acceptance, or to improve certain relationships. The topic of this thesis thus comports with the definition by Reyes because the individuals quoted in the data were in their own way seeking for the approval of their peers (i.e. the readers) for instance by emphasizing their preference of organic food products. By legitimating their purchasing decisions by referring to those feelings that encouraged their consumption decisions they reached for the acceptance of those readers who identified themselves as organic food consumers. The emotions were studied as social functions so by using them for legitimating the consumption of organic food products the individuals emphasized their belonging to a group of organic food consumers like Fischer and Manstead (2008: 456-457) argue.

5.3 Legitimation strategies

The study by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999:83) about the rejection reasons of immigrant workers' family reunion applications by Austrian immigration authorities combines a discourse-historical method with systemic-functionally oriented methods of text analysis (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 83). They examined their findings from the viewpoint of legitimation by using categories developed by Van Leeuwen: *authorization*, *rationalization*, *moral evaluation*, and *mythopoesis* (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 104-111). These strategies are used in this thesis in order to study the strategies the consumers are using when legitimating their consumption of organic food products.

Besides the approach by Van Leeuwen, there are also other approaches to legitimation strategies like for instance the one in the study by Vaara et al. (2006: 797). In this study, the categories of Van Leeuwen are proceeded by linking them with journalistic practices and so distinguishing the following legitimation strategies: 'normalization', 'authorization', 'rationalization', 'moralization', and 'narrativization'. Authorization, rationalization, and moralization refer to the same categories with Van Leeuwen and narrativization is similar with mythopoesis. Hence, normalization is the category that mainly differentiates this model from the one of Van Leeuwen. According to Vaara et al. (2006: 797), normalization expresses the legitimation by exemplarity involving references that are either 'retrospective' (similar cases or events in the past) or 'prospective' (new cases or events to be expected) - both rendering the particular case as something that is 'normal'. In Van Leeuwen and Wodak's model, this concept was introduced as a sub-type of either authorization as 'conformity legitimation' (dealing with custom and tradition) or rationalization as 'fact-of-life rationalization' or 'naturalization'. Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2007: 99) mentions the concept of naturalization as a form of moral evaluation that replaces

moral and cultural order with the 'natural order' yet he also refers to it when discussing about theoretical rationalization.

5.4 Authorization as a legitimation strategy

Authorization legitimation refers to authority of i.e. a parent, a doctor, or an expert. Additionally, there may be an impersonal authority such as 'the regulations', or 'the law'. (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 104). Van Leeuwen (2007: 94-97) further divides the different types of authorities as 'personal authority', 'expert authority', 'role model authority', 'impersonal authority', 'the authority of tradition', and 'the authority of conformity'.

Personal authority is a situation when a person's status or role in a particular institution forms the legitimate authority. There is no need for any justification required from these kinds of authorities even though they would be able to provide reasons for their requests. This authority type is rather commonly associated with the position e.g. parents or teachers have towards children. The form personal authority typically takes is called 'verbal process' clause in which the statement of the authority, the 'projected clause', contains some form of liable modality. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 94).

Expert authority takes place when the legitimacy is provided by expertise and not with the status. The expert may be stated explicitly i.e. by referring to his/her achievements. Alternatively, the expert may be so well known in his/her field that there is no need to provide evidence about the expertise. This legitimation type typically takes the form of 'verbal process clauses' or 'mental process clauses' (e.g. "Lecturer so-and-so says...") where the expert is a subject. In the modern society, where professionalism is highly valued, expertise has defeated the authority that used to belong e.g. to more experienced members of families (e.g. in case of child caring or nutrition). However, the expert authority is nowadays slowly weakening as the public is seeking answers from various kinds of directions instead of from one expert. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 94-95).

When people follow the example of role models - i.e. members of a peer group or media celebrities - role model authority is taking place. A certain kind of behavior of a role model is an adequate reason to legitimize the actions of the people idolizing them. This type of authority has an important role in advertising and lifestyle media as for instance magazines use the well-known celebrities engaged in the actions that are to be legitimized. The theoretical foundations for this type of legitimacy dates back to the 1930s and became increasingly popular after the Second World War when young people were encouraged to follow the example of the figures of popular culture rather than of the tradition. This 'symbolic interactionism' has further influenced in the contemporary consumer behavior. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 95-96).

5.4.1 Authorization and organic food products

Like stated earlier, the first legitimation strategy by Van Leeuwen is called authorization. Authorization was a legitimation strategy that was used only a couple of times in the data. There was one quotation in which the individual was directly referring to using the knowledge of other people as a basis for his own consumption decisions. In the other quotation the individual is presented as an authority whose advice should be followed by the readers of the magazine. The individual quoted first has a rather amused approach to his own consumption habits by referring to his custom of believing the recommendations of those he regards as authorities.

"I am such an enthusiastic. I might change the direction all of a sudden when I read a new book or watch a documentary film. Then I'll buy cans of additional nutrients or organic food. When the hype dies down they will remain in the cupboard."

MN 1/2012: 52

This individual describes himself as an "enthusiastic" who is prone to the temptations of marketers and advertisers. Nevertheless, he confesses that organic food products have not provided him positive effects that would have encouraged him to actually use them. It seems that the individual primarily purchases products like organic food because he gets thrilled about the idea of their alleged impacts.

There seems not to be any rational basis for the purchasing decisions made by this individual since he does not make these decisions in order to achieve for instance wellbeing or peace of mind. Instead, he refers to "a new book" or "a documentary film" as a reason to behave in a certain way. These books and films are usually made by people who the individual regards as experts in their field and so relies on their opinions and views about nutritional issues. Therefore it is justifiable to say that he legitimates his consumption habits by authorization. He believes that these writers and filmmakers are reliable source of information about the benefits of organic food products and so their knowledge can be used as a basis for legitimating the individual's own purchasing decisions.

The next quotation was made by the WWF's project manager of the climate issues. Depending on if the readers of McNaiset magazine find this kind of position as an authority may link this quotation to legitimation by authorization. In the quotation this individual describes the procedures she has taken in order to fight climate change. These procedures reveal that she prefers to make pro-environmental decisions.

"I think about the climate change every day. In my work I educate the policy makers and the managers of organizations about the threats of global warming. The Finns have not yet understood the severity of the phenomenon. I use ecological electricity, I pay for my aircraft emissions, I

use public transportation, and I prefer organic and environmentally labeled products."

MN 45/2006: 36

There is quite a strong moral echo which stems from the choices this individual has made in her everyday life. She seems to be judgmental towards 'the Finns' who do not deal with the global warming seriously enough. As a global citizen she seems to be afraid of the consequences the behavior of other people may cause to the globe and to herself, too. The ignorance of others has encouraged her to act even though she feels uncertain if her actions lead to the result she is hoping for. However, as the individual is set into a position of an authority in this text, her consumption of organic food products is legitimated by authorization instead of for instance moral evaluation.

As there was only two examples of legitimation by authorization in the texts analyzed for this thesis it is not possible to discuss the feelings and themes related to this legitimation strategy comprehensively. In the first quotation the individual who seemed to base his purchasing decisions to healthiness of organic food connected positive feelings with its consumption whereas in the second quotation the feelings were rather negative as the concern about the state of the environment was the trigger that had encouraged the individual's consumption habits.

5.5 Rationalization as a legitimation strategy

Rationalization as a legitimation strategy by Van Leeuwen will be discussed secondly. Fairclough (2003: 99) states that "rationalization is the clearest and most explicit form of legitimation". Rationalization legitimation can be either instrumental (referring to the utility of the social practice) or theoretical (referring to 'the facts of life') (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 105).

Instrumental rationalization seems to be a rather candid justifications of practices by reference to the purpose it is serving (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 105). Van Leeuwen (2007: 101-102) adds that such purposes, like legitimations, explain why certain social practices exist. The constructions of these purposes must contain a bit of moralization so that purposes can turn into 'strategic-utilitarian morality'. He refers to Habermas who has characterized the institutions regulating various types of social actions and to the principles they are founded at such as 'teleological action' (the principle of success: shows evidence of design or purpose), 'conversation' (the principle of truth: does the action truthfully represent states of affairs), 'non-conformative action' (the principle of right and wrong: is the action morally justified), and 'dramaturgical action' (the principle of honesty: is the action sincere). In his own study, Van Leeuwen focuses on teleological actions in which his findings apply to the idea of purpose itself in the form of expressions like 'it is useful'. These expressions

themselves are legitimacy and argue usefulness, purposefulness and effectiveness as criteria of truth and foundations of ethical behavior.

Instrumentality can be further divided as goal-orientation, means-orientation, and effect-orientation. When it comes to goal-orientation, purposes are either conscious or unconscious motives, intentions, or aims that are constructed as 'in people'. The formula of goal-orientation is "I do x in order to do (or be, or have) y". As for means-orientation, the construction of purpose is 'in the action' and the action refers to means to an end. The formula of this orientation can be either "I achieve doing (or being, or having) y by x-ing" leaving the agency intact, or "X-ing serves to achieve being (or doing, or having) y" which in turn does not leave the agent intact. In case of effect-orientation, the outcome of actions is emphasized as the purposefulness is viewed as something that appears in hindsight rather than planned beforehand. Even though the outcome may be predicted by those involved, they cannot completely bring that outcome about through their actions. The purpose itself is the outcome of an action and it is usually expressed by result clauses with e.g. 'so that', or 'that way'. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 102-103).

In theoretical rationalization, the basis of legitimation is in whether it is based on some kind of truth, which is why this type of rationalization is contiguously related to naturalization. However, instead of stating why a certain action is 'natural', theoretical legitimations provide propositions of 'the way things are'. There are typically three different forms of theoretical legitimation: definition, explanation, and prediction. As for definition, it refers to situation where an activity is defined with regard to another, moralized activity. Both of these activities must be generalized and they must be linked with each other either in an attributive (e.g. 'is', 'constitutes') or a significant (e.g. 'means', 'signals') way. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 103-104). Based on their data, Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 107) state that the answer to 'why' question in this case is 'because that is the way things are'. In explanation, in turn, the answer to the same question is either 'people do what they are doing because that's the way they are' or 'because doing things this way is appropriate to the nature of these actors'. Hence, explanations define habitual activities of the categories of the said actors. In the case of predictions, one should keep in mind that they are based on expertise instead of authority, and so they can be denied by opposite experience (Van Leeuwen 2007: 104).

In addition to previous categories of theoretical rationalization, Van Leeuwen (2007: 104) introduces the 'experiential' and 'scientific' rationalizations which have been distinguished originally by Berger and Luckmann. The former is described as 'various schemes relating sets of objective meanings' and the latter as the 'differentiated bodies of knowledge' which are generated so that particular institutions may be legitimated.

5.5.1 Rationalization and the taste of organic food

The results of several studies conducted in Europe during the last couple of decades suggest that the most important motive for buying organic food and food in general is the taste of the food. The taste of organic food is considered to be better than the taste of conventional food by consumers who are buying it. (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1143). These results apply also to the texts analyzed for this thesis as all of the quoted individuals who consume organic food and were referring to its taste considered it to be better than conventional food. Rationalization was used as the legitimation strategy in most of the quotations where the taste of the food was stated as the most important factor for consumption of organic food products. Two of these quotations are discussed next.

"In organic [food products] ethical and health issues are important but also the taste is what counts in food."

MN 31/2012: 10

"In weekdays I usually cook chicken, another favorite ingredient of mine is onion. I am also a heavy user of various vegetables, berries and especially fruits. When shopping groceries I usually pick up organic products to my basket because of their better taste."

MN 21/2001: 49-50

When listing the criteria by which she chooses the kind of food she likes to purchase, the individual referred to on the first quotation mentions ethicality, healthiness, and taste. Although ethicality and healthiness are mentioned before the taste, the reader gets the impression that the taste is among the most important factors affecting to the food choice of this individual. The better taste of organic food products compared to conventional food products is the factor guiding the consumption habits of the individual in the second quotation, too. For her the organic food is only a means to an end in order to achieve the pleasure originating from the taste of food.

Neither of the individuals react to organic food products very emotionally but they seem to be pleased and happy with their choice of eating this type of food. These individuals may regard the taste of conventional food products as opposite to organic food products meaning that eating them would evoke rather negative feelings which they would like to avoid. As a comparison to those consumers purchasing organic products for ethical reasons, these individuals represent consumers who are only looking for the indulgent organic food products can provide them without any profound agenda. However, the claim that organic products taste better than conventional products is rather subjective view and one cannot draw a conclusion that all the consumers think alike.

In the quotations where the taste of organic food seemed to be the most important criteria for consumption, the taste outdid the way the food was

actually farmed. Hence, those consumers who purchased organic food products because of their taste often seemed to legitimate their behavior by rationalization: the pleasure gained from the good taste of food was achieved by eating organic food products. Their answer to a question of 'why they consume organic food' is simply 'because it tastes good' (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 107). Thus, there was not any particular ideology or concern guiding their consumption habits but the taste was the most important criteria for purchasing organic food products. This factor separates these consumers for instance from those consumers who were concerned about the state of the environment and thus legitimated their purchasing decisions by moral evaluation.

5.5.2 Rationalization and the health concerns

The feelings occurring related to the healthiness of organic food which was legitimated by rationalization were mostly negative ones. While the individuals whose consumption was triggered by concerns about food safety in general were usually using other strategies to legitimate their consumption of organic food products, those individuals who did legitimate their purchasing with rationalization were mainly referring to issues related to their own physical wellbeing. This applied in case of both negative and positive emotions encouraging these consumers' decisions to consume these products.

It appeared in one of the texts that the ability to purchase organic food products was the desirable goal one individual was aiming to after reaching a certain level of income. On the contrary, purchasing organic products may be the tool to achieve a certain target like better physical condition. In the following statement the individual describes how he benefits physically about consuming organic milk.

"This organic milk does not provide similar effects on my intestines than regular milk."

MN 27/2007: 30

This individual has experienced in a palpable way that a certain organic food product has improved his everyday life. Here, the reason to consume organic food products seems to be purely physiological as it has eased the problems in his digestion. In Finland the amount of milk consumed is the highest in the world being approximately 130 kilograms per capita in year 2014 (Maito ja terveys 2016) so allegedly this individual has gained a long-term experience of both conventional and organic milk. The emotions that encouraged this individual to consume organic milk have been rather negative: he has probably been miserable about discomfort he has felt physically after ingesting regular milk. There is also a possibility that the flatus of his intestines has caused embarrassment in certain social situations in the past. The wellbeing of the individual has increased once he had begun to consume organic milk instead of conventional milk and thus the negative emotions have been replaced by feelings of happiness.

This individual legitimates his consumption of organic food products by rationalization since consuming organic milk is his tool to achieve better physical condition. He does not seem to be interested in any moral aspect associated with the production chain of this particular product but instead is purely attracted by the improvement it contributes to his wellbeing.

Like mentioned above, there were also positive feelings in the material related to the theme of health concerns in which rationalization was used as a legitimation strategy. In the next quotation the individual and his spouse are professional dancers who travel a lot for work. Here, he was answering a question about the cooking habits of him and his spouse.

"If I'm the one who cooks it'll be something that's quick and fresh. Because of travelling we often eat out but once at home we like cooking. There are Mediterranean dishes made of organic products as often as possible at our plates. We are not fanatic food enthusiasts but we do like to feast, too. Our bodies will tell us what we need."

MN 20/2003: 35

As professional athletes this individual and his wife are familiar with paying attention to nutrition issues, and like he describes, they have chosen to follow Mediterranean diet and to use organic food products whenever it is possible. For them the wellbeing of their bodies is the priority and they have noticed that this particular diet suits them best. It seems that there is no profound emotions involved to their decision to consume organic food products other than the contentment they feel about their ability to use these products as part of their diet. Their overall emotions toward organic food are positive and the reason they have begun to consume these products is the pleasure they gain from them.

Like stated in the previous paragraph, the attitude of this individual towards organic food products seem to be rather sensible. The food he eats is basically a source of energy to his body which is needed for practicing his sports. Hence, he legitimates his behavior by rationalization: like Van Leeuwen (2007: 102-103) argues, this individual is consuming certain kind of food in order to stay in better shape and in his case the food he chooses to eat is organic food.

5.6 Moral evaluation as a legitimation strategy

The third legitimation strategy is called moral evaluation and, like its name suggests, it is linked on moral values (Van Leeuwen 2007: 97). Moral abstraction legitimation describes what is going on instead of formulating a legitimate argument, and so it is among the least explicit forms of legitimation (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 108-109). Vaara et al. (2006: 801) call this legitimization strategy moralization which, according to them, refers to specific values. They

point out that because also rationalization has a moral basis it is debatable if rationalization and moralization are actually separate from each other.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 108-109) introduce moral values that are based on for example to scientific objectivity, leadership, health and hygiene, economics, and public interest. Thus, the discourses of moral value are not always obvious but they are only hinted at by using adjectives like 'healthy', 'normal', and 'natural'. These adjectives are only of a tip of an iceberg of moral values being external from the system of interpretation from which they are traced back. They modify moral discourses into 'generalized motives' that are currently used to vouch mass loyalty. (Van Leeuwen 2007: 97-98). Just like Vaara et al. stated in the previous paragraph, also Fairclough (2003: 99) argues that rationalization overlaps with moral evaluation so that reasons given for certain procedures invoke taken-for-granted value systems and establish the motives that are used 'to ensure mass loyalty'.

According to Van Leeuwen (2007: 98), it is rather impossible to find an explicit method to identify moral evaluations and one can only sort of 'recognize' them based on his/her common-sense cultural knowledge. Evaluative adjectives are an important part of moral evaluation legitimation even though some studies have shown that many of them are at once 'attributive' and 'designative' meaning that they communicate the concrete qualities of actions and commend their domain of values. Hence, moral evaluation is in a way protected from debate and argument.

Moral evaluation can also be expressed by referring to abstraction or analogies. The former refers to abstract ways that 'moralize' the common practices by distilling a quality that connects them to moral value discourses. For instance, instead of saying 'a child is playing in the playground' one may say 'a child is cooperating'. The latter refers to comparisons that in most cases have a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function in discourse. These comparisons can be either positive or negative and they may be expressed either implicitly or explicitly (Van Leeuwen 2007: 99-100).

Although many quoted individuals who legitimated their consumption habits with moral evaluation related positive emotions to organic food products, when it comes to the feelings that encouraged the consumption of organic food negative emotions did appear more often in connection to this legitimation strategy. Moral evaluation was mostly used in quotations related to issues such as transition to parenthood, locally produced food, as well as environmental and health concerns. In relation with these themes, also negative feelings occurred more regularly than positive ones when moral evaluation was used as legitimation strategy. All in all, moral evaluation was the only legitimation strategy used in relation to all of the themes.

5.6.1 Moral evaluation and environmental concern

When it comes to quotations referring to environmental concerns of the quoted individuals, moral evaluation was the legitimation strategy used in most texts. In

comparison, there was not a quotation discussing the consumption of organic food in relation to environmental concern which would have been legitimated by rationalization. Hence, this theme seems to be strongly linked with the moral values to which Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 108-109) referred to. As negative emotions were strongly present alongside with this legitimation strategy related to environmental concerns, the quotations introduced here represent examples of these particular feelings related to the consumption of organic food products.

One issue in which moral evaluation was used for legitimating the consumption habits and where negative emotions emerged quite often was the comparison between organic food products and genetically modified food (GMF). Besides environmental aspect, the discussion about GMF could be linked with the issues related to health, too. According to Laros and Steenkamp (2004: 889-890), people worldwide - except those living in the U. S. - are afraid of GMF and this fear is widely provoked by the media and its negative attitude towards this type of food. The fear evolves especially from the uncertainty, severe risk, and marginal benefits people relate to GMF. In their own study about the fear towards GMF Laros and Steenkamp (2004: 903) found that people were generally more afraid of it than other new food product types such as i.e. organic food. Additionally, those people who were concerned about the state of the nature also felt greater fear towards GMF.

The opinions of two individuals concerning GMF are discussed in the following quotations. Both of them were asked about their personal views about GMF.

"I am an advocate of organic food products but I am aware that one does not cope with only them. There should be conventional and even genetically modified food available. The consumer should, however, always have the possibility to make the decision. It is annoying that our livestock is feed with GM fodder but there is no mention about it in the product packaging."

MN 29/2013: 12

"I know quite little about it. It is ethically dubious. In my opinion organic is the most valuable thing there is. Based on what I have read about it the arguments both for and against GMF are controversial and I would wish for remarkably more information. I hope the decision makers will research the issue thoroughly before they accept anything."

MN 36/2007: 41

Although the individual quoted first describes herself as an "advocate of organic food products" her attitude towards food in general seems to be rather moderate. Besides reacting positively to conventional food she even believes that the availability of GMF is justifiable as long as the consumer has an opportunity to make the final decision. According to this individual, her annoyance is caused by the producers who withhold the information from the public about the

ingredients they use for feeding the livestock and by the system that allows them to do so. The negative emotions evoked by these actions have then resulted to her consuming of organic food.

Ecological values seem to be extremely important for the individual quoted secondly. She believes that everything organic is solely good for the humans whereas genetically modified food represents an opposite view. Although this individual admits that she has not gained a lot of knowledge about GMF she is treating it with caution. The individual is afraid of the imagined effects GMF may have on her and she believes they can be avoided by preferring e.g. organic food. She is also appealing to the authorities that they should not make decisions on behalf of genetically modified food without careful considerations.

The individual quoted first refers to the lack of transparency related to the production of conventional food products. By doing so, she disapproves the actions the producers of livestock are taking and argues that the consumers should be aware of these actions. Organic food products represent her a product category of which production methods consumers can rely on. The individual seems to appreciate this kind of approach to food production and thus she legitimates her own purchasing decisions by moral evaluation. By referring to the secrecy of the use of GMF this individual reveals that she links values such as openness and transparency to the production methods of organic food products.

By delegitimizing genetically modified food, the second individual uses moral evaluation as a reasoning why she avoids GMF. As she labels the unnatural genetically modified food as “ethically dubious” she legitimizes her preference to organic food by appealing to her moral values. These negative feelings toward GMF encourage this individual to purchase organic food products.

5.6.2 Moral evaluation and locally produced food

Another theme in which legitimation by moral evaluation was commonly used was the texts concerning locally produced organic food products. The definition of local food varies between different geographical areas even within the well-developed countries. According to Zepeda and Leviten-Reid (2004: 1-2), in the U. S. local food is usually defined as “food grown within a county” or “food grown within a state” whereas in the United Kingdom it is “associated with geographical areas, customs, or foods eaten by people from certain socio-economic backgrounds”. In their study about opinions concerning local and organic food in Finland, Isoniemi et al. (2006: 16-18) found that most of the consumers agreed that local food is food that is produced in Finland within 100 kilometers from its place of a purchase. It was important for the Finnish consumers preferring locally produced food that there was as little of intermediaries as possible inside the distribution channel as well as that the food was produced in the region where that particular consumer was living and according to the traditions of that region. Thus, it is not clear which are the

attributes of the concept of 'local food' that attract the consumers as the understanding of the meaning of this concept varies from consumer to consumer (Roininen et al. 2006: 20).

According to Roininen et al. (2006: 20), the interest towards the origin as well as the production methods of their food has increased in recent years in Finland. In their study about the personal values, meanings, and benefits consumers relate to local food products, they found that people associated local food with attributes such as freshness, short transportation, security, viability, and contribution to local economy. The associations towards local food were mainly positive. However, those opinions that were related to the price of local food were rather negative as the price was usually regarded relatively high. (Roininen et al. 2006: 23-24). In their study concerning consumers' views on local food Zepeda and Leviten-Reid (2004: 5) found that even those shoppers who did not buy it on a regular basis had a positive attitude towards local food.

Like stated earlier, it was challenging to decide which of the themes some quotations represented best as in several cases there was more than one theme emerging from one quotation. This applied especially to quotations concerning locally produced organic food products which also included references to issues such as environmental concerns and the price premium of organic food.

In the texts concerning locally produced organic food the Finnish word 'suosia' ('prefer') appeared quite often. The other translation would be 'favor' but as the individuals emphasized the fact that they were choosing organic products instead of other types of products the word 'prefer' is used here in the translation. One should, however, notice that the quoted texts have quite positive attitude towards locally produced food items even though the actual emotions related to their consumption were rather negative. These negative emotions are connected to factors that have encouraged consumption habits of the quoted individuals in the first place. In the first two quotations the quoted individuals it were the negative feelings that had encouraged the consumption of organic food whereas in the third quotation the emotions were rather positive.

The first quotation was from an article concerning the difference of diets of a vegetarian and a meat-eater. There were more than one quotations referring to the consumption of organic food in this text so one can assume that organic food is a subject which is important for this individual.

Maria also prefers local and organic food. "I want my food to be real and not dispensable. For ice cream one does not need more than cream, eggs, and sugar but there can be 20 different ingredients in the final product."
MN 28/2010: 57

This individual called Maria is a meat-eater who associates local and organic food with something "real" and "not dispensable", thus something that does not contain any extra ingredients added to food in order to guarantee its extended shelf life. In other section of the same text, Maria says that she thinks that the soybeans which are not farmed in Finland and hence are shipped from abroad

“do not belong to a Finnish dining table” meaning that she does not understand how come it is more environmentally friendly to freight certain plants from other side of the world to Finland than to eat meat products that are produced domestically and so require minimal transportation. The type of food production described here evokes negative emotions that have caused Maria to consume organic food that contains minimum additives and has been produced locally.

Maria disapproves the excessive amount of ingredients added to conventional food products that she considers to be redundant. Instead, she prefers food that does not contain anything unnecessary and in her mind locally produced and organic food ensures her that kind of a product. Hence, she legitimates her willingness to consume organic and local food products through moral evaluation: her disapproval of the added ingredients is mainly based on her own opinion instead of a scientific finding about their harmfulness (regarding that e.g. the food additives permitted in Finland have been tested prior to their use). The basis of Maria’s purchasing decisions lays therefore in her personal values rather than for instance in rationalization.

Like Vaara et al (2006: 801) state, it can be rather difficult to make the parting between rationalization and moral evaluation. The following example reflects this difficulty as the choices of the quoted individual can be viewed as based on rational decisions in parallel with the moral ones.

"I do not usually eat meat. Vegetarian food burdens the environment less. I purchase organic products and prefer domesticity. However, I purchase for example beans from Senegal as one should buy also African products."
MN 19/2007: 79

This individual feels sad about the current state of the environment and is willing to improve it by consuming organic food products. By purchasing those products she is able to hinder her negative emotions caused by the state of the nature and people living in poor conditions. Thus, these feelings encourage her to take these particular actions she believes are needed to promote both the state of the environment and the conditions of people living in developing countries.

The individual explains that the reason for not eating meat is based on the fact that it burdens the environment more than eating vegetarian food. This reasoning sounds rather sensible and carefully considered. As she discusses about her consumption of organic food products in a same, rational tone one might assume that her attitude towards these type of food products can be related with her attitude towards eating vegetarian food. Even though she argues her choices in a rather rational manner, she does that by entreating to the protection of the environment and the support of both local and developing countries’ production. These matters have been traditionally linked with morality and ethicality. Nevertheless, the individual legitimates her consumption of organic food products by moral evaluation as she contrasts it to her choice of not eating meat which she finds a “burden” to the environment. Her addition about buying African products because “one should buy” them further confirms the moral

aspect of her purchasing decisions as there is no real evidence about its improving effect to the conditions of that African farmer who has grown those particular beans she is referring to.

In the last quotation connected with locally produced organic food the quoted individual mentions feeling positively towards organic food products despite their price premium compared to conventional food products.

"We purchase locally produced food which is preferably organic. We are happy to pay a little bit more for that [type of food]."

MN 16-17/2001: 55

This individual describes that he and his spouse purchase primarily local food and that they prefer it to be organic, too. This quotation was one of the few in the whole data in which an emotion encouraging the consumption of organic food is actually named. So it is rather obvious that the emotions this individual relates to his consumption decisions are solely positive.

He seems to base his decisions to consume organic food products primarily on his moral values instead of for instance recommendations of experts (authorization). Hence, his consumption habits are legitimated by moral evaluation because he feels that by purchasing locally produced organic food he is following those moral values he appreciates.

5.6.3 Moral evaluation and the price premium

One might assume that the consumers have rather sensible attitude towards consumption when pricing is in question and thus the legitimation strategy of the consumption of organic food products in these cases would be rationalization. However, it appeared in the analyzed texts that those consumers who discussed their consumption habits related to the alleged price premium appeared to legitimate their decision based on moral evaluation.

Those individuals who discussed the higher price of organic food products as an adverse factor for their consumption were representing the majority of organic food consumers since the price premium of organic food products has been found to be one of the main barriers for their consumption in several studies (Aertsens et al. 2009: 1150; Nasir & Karakaya 2014: 265). According to several studies, a vast amount of those consumers who are willing to pay the price premium of organic food believe it is remarkably safer and healthier than conventional food (Magkos et al. 2006: 24). Comparably, those consumers who are concerned about the price of the food in general do not pay so much attention with the safety attributes such as production, origin and place of purchase when it comes to their food choices (Röhr et al. 2005: 654).

Purchasing organic products was something that the quoted individuals were willing to do voluntarily even though they had to sacrifice something else in order to afford these products they felt were more expensive than the conventional products. Aertsens et al. (2009: 1146) state that according to

previous research, positive emotions gained from purchasing organic food products exceeded the possible annoyance the amount of money used on them may have caused. This research result apply also to the next individual who does not complain about the higher prices of organic food.

“Organic products are sometimes more expensive but I am willing to pay for the cleanliness. I feel better and the flavors are clearly more intensive. Nothing compares to my organic vegetable soup.”

MN 31/2012: 10

This individual agrees that organic food products can be more costly than conventional food products but she appreciates the benefits she achieves by purchasing them because she believes that organic food is cleaner than other type of food products. As the use of chemicals in the cultivation of organic vegetables is forbidden, people often relate their use with feeling well. Again, even though it is questionable if organic food is healthier than conventional food, the subjective experience of this individual is that she “feels better” because she is consuming organic food products.

By referring to the cleanliness organic food, like stated by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 108-109), this individual legitimates her consumption habits by moral evaluation. Cleanliness in general promotes healthiness: bacteria and other pathogens do not flourish in sanitized environments as much as they do in unkempt environments. The individual applies this fact with organic food products. The alleged higher price of organic food products does not hinder her aspiration towards healthiness which she believes one can accomplish by eating organic food.

In the next quotation, the emotions the quoted individual relates with the price premium of consumption of organic food products are not as positive as the emotions of the previous individual. This individual is displeased with the fact that organic food products seem to be more expensive than conventional food products.

"It's nice that I don't have to choose the cheapest option in the store anymore. I buy organic products every now and then even though I am annoyed by their expensive price. Food has become a moral choice nowadays. It is acceptable to buy solely organic products which is certainly neat for those people who can afford them."

MN 18/2012: 14

The individual uses the term “moral choice” when discussing about food consumption in general. She argues that according to the public opinion it is morally right to purchase only organic products. Despite their price, the individual is willing to consume organic food products but is frustrated by the fact that in order to do so she needs to pay more than those people who consume conventional food products. However, the negative emotions are replaced by the

feelings of pleasure occurring from a certain way of consuming. Although the relatively high price of organic products may also evoke negative feelings in the consumers' minds it does not necessarily prevent the consumption completely. Albeit annoyed, this individual clearly appreciates the positive factors she gains from organic food products more than the amount of money she has to use in them.

This individual legitimates her spending on organic food products through moral evaluation. Although her referring to the improvement of her financial situation that has enabled the consumption of organic products may be interpreted as rationality she, however, emphasizes the fact that she is implementing such a behavior because that is morally expected especially from those people who exceed a certain income level.

5.6.4 Moral evaluation and transition to parenthood

It appeared that in the data gathered for this thesis the negative emotions related to nutrition were encouraging the parents of small children to consume organic food products. This factor is referred to in the chapter which was discussing negative emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food products. However, there were also positive feelings in the data that supported the purchasing decisions of some parents. Both of the following quotations are from the same article about a vegan family and their consumption habits.

The text describing the way the mother of the family has adapted the diet of her child into her own eating habits is quoted first.

When her son began to familiarize himself with solid food along with the breast milk Mirka prepared the mushes for the first year solely from organic products.

MN 16-17/2001: 55

Along the whole text the attitude of the parents of this family towards their choice to follow vegan diet is rather neutral so there is no any particular ardor related to their beliefs. They have found that this specific way of life suits best for them and the same applies for their offspring. The overall consumption habits of this family are pro-environmental and they seem to be rather sensible when it comes to their decision to follow this particular diet. Based on this fact, it seems that there is not easily distinguish emotions visible in this statement. This individual seems to be contented with the choices she and her spouse have made in the best interest of their child and themselves. Hence, the emotions encouraging the consumption decisions of the parents of this family remain positive.

As the decision to provide their child with organic food products is tightly related with the family's own outlook on life they legitimate their behavior by moral evaluation. Like Vaara et al. (2006: 801) argued, this family is referring to ecological values when they discuss about their decision to serve their child exclusively organic food.

The beliefs of the parents are described in more detail in the following part of the same article in which they discuss about the reactions of other people concerning the dieting habits of their family.

Certainly the parents of family Muukkonen have often replied to questions if it's right to make the choice about vegetarian diet on the behalf of their toddler. They think it is justified because they believe that organically farmed vegetarian food is the best option for a child. They think that it would be educationally rather odd if they ate vegetarian food themselves but served their child with food products of animal origin.

MN 16-17/2001: 55

Here, the parents of the family claim that they and their decision to consume organic and vegetarian food products have been the subject of moral judgement of other people. Their eating habits differ from an average family with children where meat products are generally included to the diet. Therefore the parents feel the need to defend their choices to those people who disagree with them about the correct way to feed a young child. Simultaneously, the parents of this family are also questioning the choices made by those parents who serve their children conventional food and meat products by claiming rather controversially that organic vegetarian food is "the best option" when it comes to feeding one's children.

The parents seem to be a bit frustrated about the reactions of the society towards their decision to follow their own ideals when it comes to their nutritional choices. On the other hand, like stated in the previous quotation, they are contented about their choice to follow a vegan diet and to consume organic food products as a part of their diet. These positive emotions in connection to their purchasing decisions seem to further encourage them to hold on to this particular lifestyle regardless of the opinions of others.

Moral evaluation is used as a legitimation strategy again in this quotation based on the same reasoning as above. This family does not lean to scientific results when claiming that organic food is "the best option for a child" but rely on their own experiences and beliefs about the matter. Consumption of organic food products fits to the ecological values of the parents of this family so there is no need for rational legitimation.

5.7 Mythopoesis as a legitimation strategy

The last legitimating strategy by Van Leeuwen is mythopoesis. Mythopoesis is accomplished by telling stories. This type of legitimation is used widely i.e. in racist and anti-Semitic discourse in non-official contexts where one negative event serves as a norm of behavior and a positive event serves as an exception. (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 110). In the study of Vaara et al. (2006: 802),

mythopoesis is called narrativization. They discuss about Van Leeuwen's views of telling stories and how these stories are a proof of acceptable and preferential behavior. Fairclough (2003: 99) argues, however, that there are forms of mythopoesis that are not narratives in the strictest sense. In their study Vaara et al. (2006: 804) found that although narrativization in its own right was an important legitimation strategy, it also was an overall frame that supported the other legitimation strategies. According to Van Leeuwen (2007:105-106), legitimation through storytelling consists of moral tales and cautionary tales. In the former, the main characters are praised for engaging in legitimate social practices, or retrieving the legitimate order. The latter, in turn, express what will happen if one does not adapt to the norms of social practices, thus when the main character has engaged in abnormal activities leading to unwanted ending.

5.7.1 Mythopoesis and organic food products

Although it is not relevant to separate different forms of mythopoesis from the data for the purposes of this thesis, there still appeared that certain forms this legitimation strategies were used in the media texts. It is rather obvious that when discussing about the consumption of organic food there was not tales that referred to those issues (i.e. racism) in which this legitimation strategy is often used. However, in the texts where mythopoesis was used seemed to appear examples of moral tales that describe the transition process of the subject from a person who did not pay attention to her lifestyle – mythopoesis was used as a legitimation strategy only by females – to someone who takes conscious actions in order to achieve certain things such as wellbeing. In the next quotation, consumption of organic food is described in a way of a moral tale.

Kirsi has also stopped eating meat and begun eating almost exclusively organic food. Once a month she packs all the empty bottles and cans of the household into the trunk and drives with her friends to the spring to fill them up. "Once you sensitize to listen to yourself, your body starts to tell you what it needs."

MN 30/2012: 8

This individual describes the change in her body which has occurred once she abandoned her old habits of eating conventional food and drinking water from the tap. Because she describes that she has only recently begun to "listen to" herself it seems that she used to behave in a different way. One may then assume that she was not pleased with herself before and her earlier behavior made her feel sad and depressed. Now that she has changed her ways and included organic food products as a part of her life those negative feelings have vanished and she is feeling happier.

According to the text quoted here, this individual was not aware of what her body really needed before she began to take certain measures to listen to herself. She defends the consumption of organic food as something that her system is demanding and she will not stand in a way of those demands. Thus,

the journalist who has written this text praises the way how this individual has engaged herself in the legitimate practice of following this particular lifestyle and thus mythopoesis is used as a strategy to legitimate the purchasing decision of this individual.

Same kind of a moral tale emerges as a legitimation strategy in the next quotation in which the quoted individual describes the way her interests have changed during recent years.

She had become a thirty something woman who instead of the bars was interested in yoga and organic food. "All the people change and grow up. I used to be a rather vivid twenty something but now I'm totally different."
MN 13/2012: 29

This individual describes her younger self as someone who was outgoing and living in a way many young people do. Once she became a little bit older she faced a rather dramatic change according to which she now argues to be "totally different" than she used to be. This change includes getting involved with the consumption of organic food products like the journalist written this text claims. It seems that the emotions of this individual were quite negative prior deciding to make these changes and thus her emotions enabled her to transform her lifestyle completely.

She uses mythopoesis as her legitimation strategy: her growth story is discussed through moral tales, where she is the main character who is complimented for switching her immoral behavior into respectable way of life. Simultaneously, the consumption of organic food products replacing the consumption of i.e. alcoholic beverages is legitimated.

In the last quotation which can be regarded as a moral tale the individual describes how she initially became interested about organic food products.

"I longed for a change in my lifestyle. I have always been interested about health and taking care of it by natural way. I experienced a 'green awakening'. Ecological lifestyle, organic and locally produced food matters have begun to interest me as I have gained more knowledge."
MN 3/2012: 54-55

Here, the consumption of organic food has not been the actual aim but rather a result of this individual's "green awakening" as she describes the change in her way of life. Hence, it was not something she had planned in advance but rather an outcome of gaining knowledge about issues related with ecological lifestyle. The individual seems to be pleased with the current situation of consuming organic food products so the feelings that encouraged her to begin to consumer these products are positive.

At first it seems that the individual legitimates her consumption by moral evaluation as she describes her change using those particular words that are often used in relation to that legitimation strategy. However, the quotation may

instead be regarded as a moral tale in which the main character is again engaged in legitimate social practice of consuming organic food products. Hence, the individual legitimates her decisions by mythopoesis.

Like many of the individuals quoted earlier, also the next individual linked consumption of organic food and healthy lifestyle tightly together. Here she describes how she is feeling better when eating organic food by telling an emotive story about herself growing up.

"I am not a farm girl but my stepfather was a farmer and I used to live in a farmhouse as a child. The farm certainly had nothing to do with organic products and I also used to play with sacks containing artificial fertilizers. At home we used to drink raw milk and ate products from our own land and later when we moved out [from the farm] my body was rejecting the processed food. I have four brothers and the eldest of them does not believe at all to the organics - we tend to have interesting discussions about the subject. I, however, want to escape all sorts of chemicals and I feel better when I choose organic products."

MN 31/2012: 10

In the quotation the individual describes her childhood in the countryside and how the nutritional diet she used to follow affected her wellbeing especially after she began to prefer a certain diet. The story about how she grew up has a nostalgic echo and is articulated in a rather wistful way. On the other hand, the individual feels happy and pleased being brought up in such conditions where she was both encouraged to maintain this particular diet and to discuss about nutrition choices with her family members. Probably as a legacy of her upbringing she now avoids eating food she considers to contain harmful chemicals and the best way to do so is to eat organic food products. The positive feelings this individual gains from consuming organic food are then somewhat related to her childhood memories that she likes to cherish as positive ones.

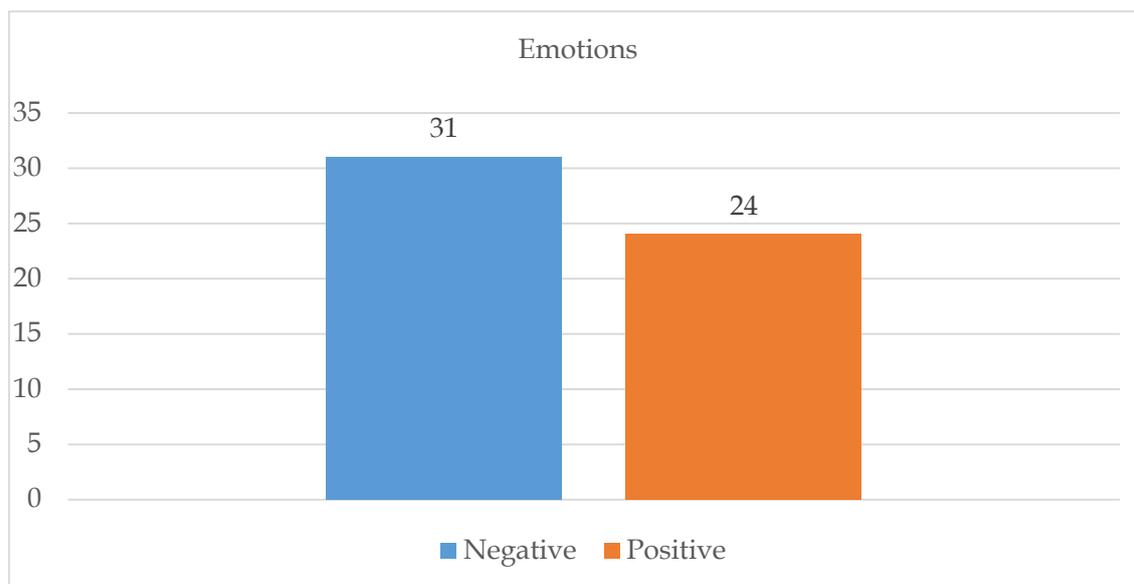
By leaning on her previous experiences this individual legitimates her current avoidance of the chemical load of conventional food and instead chooses to consume organic food as it contains less of the chemicals. The legitimation strategy this individual is referring to in this quotations is mythopoesis.

6 RESULTS

6.1 Negative and positive emotions

When it comes to the type of emotions that encouraged the consumption of organic food products, the amount of those emotions that can be viewed as negative emotions exceeded slightly the amount of positive emotions (Chart 1). These negative emotions were largely connected to cases which evoked different concerns in the individuals quoted in the media texts used as a data. These concerns were related to for instance the state of the environment, or the health and wellbeing of the individuals themselves or their family members. These individuals did not feel negatively towards organic food but had rather positive attitude towards these products as they insisted on consuming them. Yet, their consumption was encouraged by negative emotions related for instance to fears about food safety or suspicions about the nutritional value of conventional food products. By referring to such issues the majority of the individuals quoted in the texts legitimated their decision to consume organic food products.

Chart 1: Negative and positive emotions



There were also four quotations in which the individuals regarded the idea of consuming organic food negatively and hence declined to purchase these kind of products at all. In these cases, their negative emotions related to organic food prevented them from consuming organic food and encouraged them to purchase other types of food products instead. These quotations are included to the negative emotions part in chart 1, so if they were excluded, the difference between negative and positive emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food products would not be so obvious.

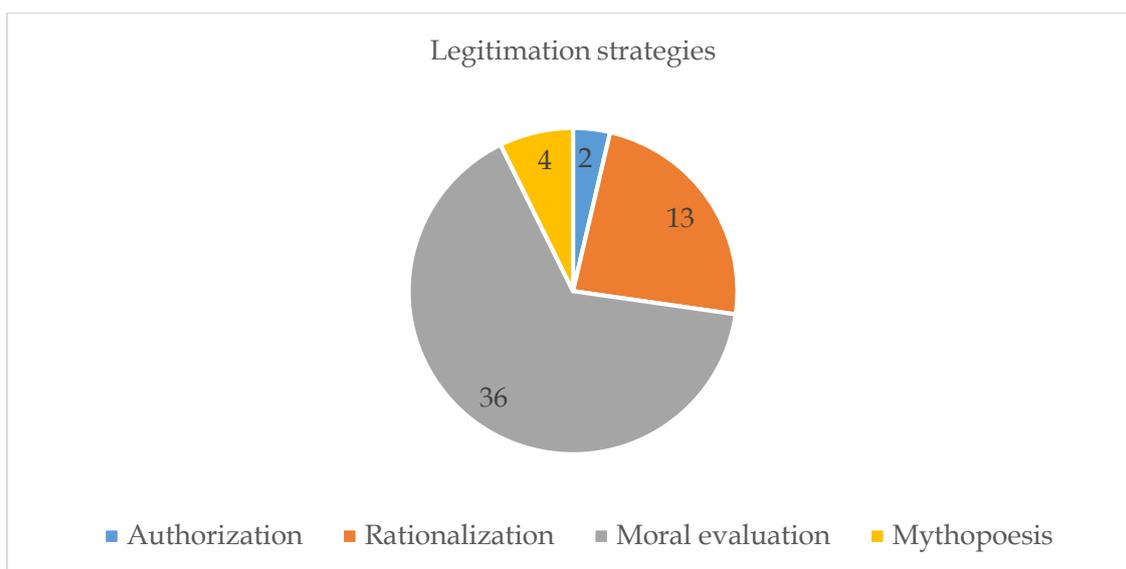
In order to view the positive emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food products, like already stated their number was a bit smaller than negative emotions. The positive emotions of the quoted individuals emerged mainly in relation to taste of organic food as well as its price premium. It is rather undeniable that those consumers who preferred the taste of organic food were likely to purchase it, too, and that the pleasant taste of this food evoked positive emotions in them. However, also when the price premium of organic food was concerned, the emotions that encouraged the consumption were rather positive although negative emotions appeared as well. The presence of positive emotions can be most likely explained by the fact that the benefits the consumers believed they gain from purchasing organic food compared to purchasing conventional food exceeded the disadvantage of spending more money.

6.2 Legitimation strategies

As the chart 2 demonstrates, moral evaluation was the most popular legitimation strategy found from the data as it was used in approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quotations to legitimate the consumption of organic food products. The second popular

strategy rationalization was used around one in five of the quotations whereas the usage of mythopoesis and authorization was relatively low. The popularity of moral evaluation may be explained by the popular themes to which it was related like environmental and health concerns, transition to parenthood as well as the issues related to local food production.

Chart 2: Legitimation strategies

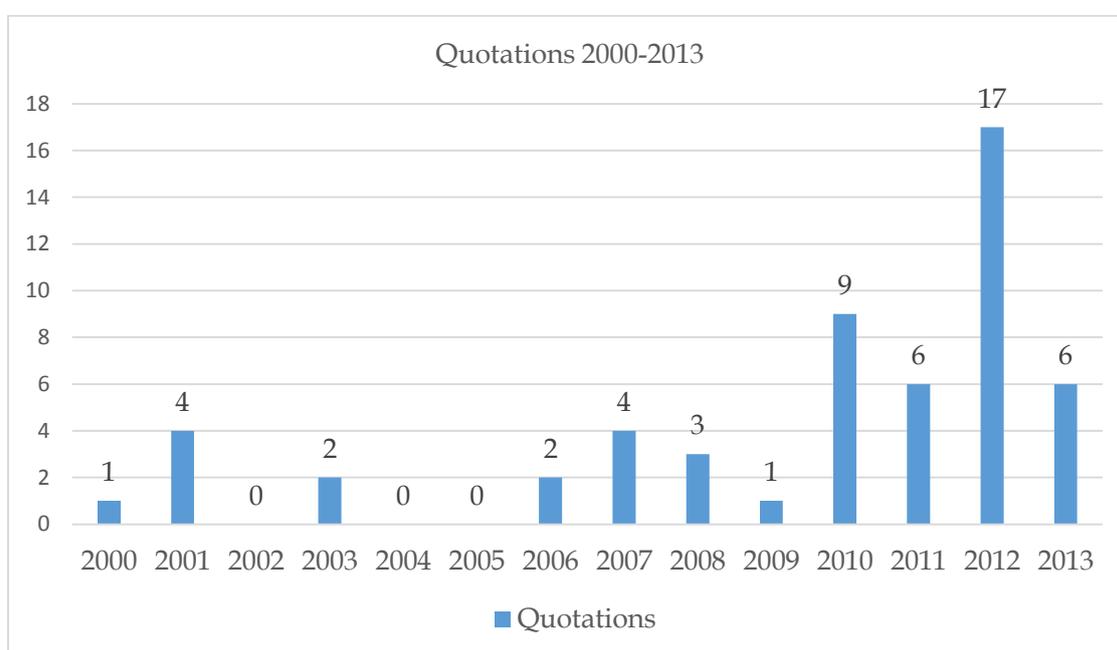


On the other hand, organic food consumption as such can be viewed mainly as an issue related to personal moral values. Therefore it is not surprising that legitimation by moral evaluation was so frequent among the data. Instead, it is probably a bit unexpected that other legitimation strategies were used as well. It seems that especially those individuals who legitimated their consumption decision by rationalization did not refer so much to their values but for instance used organic food as a tool to achieve things such as wellbeing. The texts in which mythopoesis was used as legitimation strategy consisted mainly of transitional tales where organic food played an important role as a life changing factor of the main character. As for authorization, there appeared one text in which the consumption was legitimated by the knowledge of an authority and one text in which an individual taking a role of an authority legitimated her consumption decisions by leaning on her own expertise. The scarcity of times when authorization was used as a legitimation strategy in relation to organic food consumption may originate from the fact that organic food is not traditionally approved by i.e. nutritionists or other similar authorities. Thus, consumers purchasing organic food use other strategies than authorization to legitimate their consumption.

6.3 Emotions, legitimation strategies, and themes 2000-2013

Of the 55 quotations used as a data for this thesis, in the first ten years in the volumes from 2000 until 2009 there were 17 quotations altogether whereas the volumes of last four years from 2010 until 2013 introduced 28 quotations (Chart 3). Organic food products were first quoted a few times in years 2000, 2001 and 2003 but volumes 2002, 2004, and 2005 did not include any quotations that could have been used as a data of this thesis. The amount of quotations began to increase steadily being totally ten quotations between years 2006 and 2009.

Chart 3: The quotations between 2000 and 2013



In 2010, there were almost as many quotations than in four previous years together. In 2011 the amount was not so high but relative enough compared to the first 10 years. However, in year 2012 there were equal amount of quotations than between years 2000 and 2009 so one might say that this was a year the quotations referring to consumption of organic food products was extremely high. In year 2013 the amount of quotations set to the same level as in 2011.

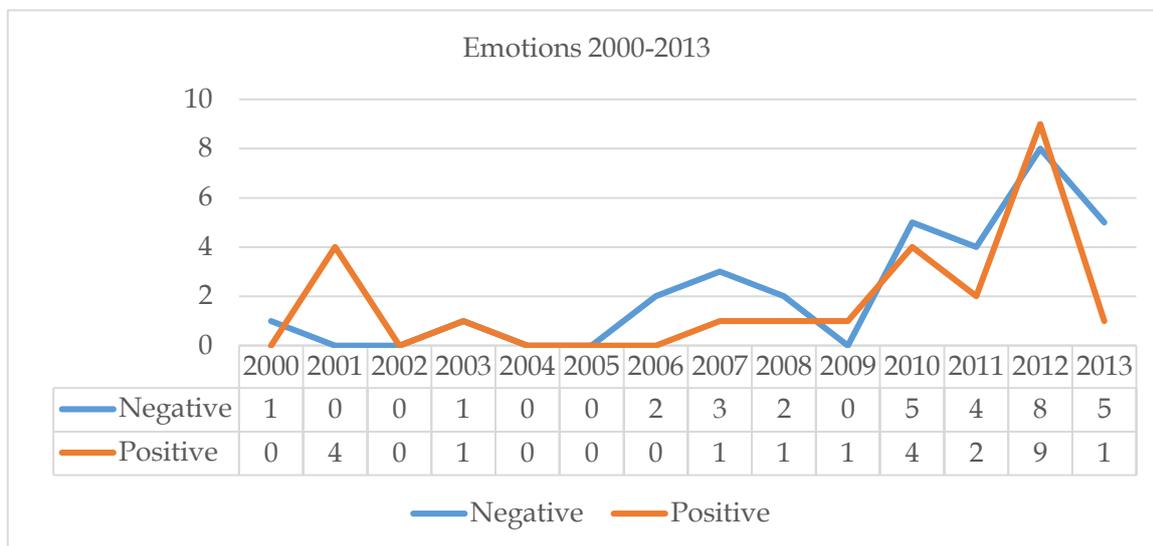
One should notice, however, that for instance three out of four quotations in year 2001 were from the same text so the number of texts published in each year could be taken into further examination. These may be viewed in Appendix 1.

6.3.1 Emotions between 2000 and 2013

The occurrence of feelings is presented in the chart 4. In the early years of data gathered the existence (or non-existence) of both negative and positive emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food products was rather similar except of year 2002 when the number of positive emotions increased notably while there

was no negative emotions found at all. From 2006 on negative emotions formed a majority of all emotions – apart from years 2009 and 2012 when positive emotions emerged slightly more often.

Chart 4: Emotions between 2000 and 2013

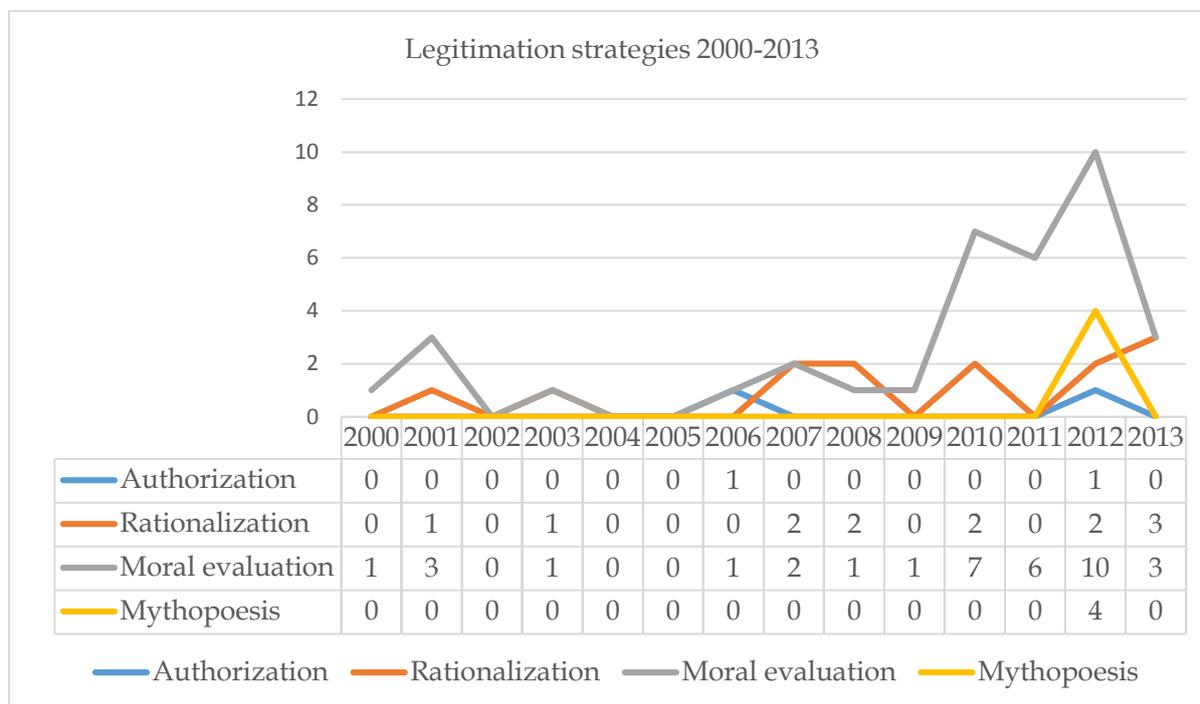


The difference of negative and positive emotions varied depending on a year: for instance, in 2001 the amount of positive feelings was relatively higher while in 2013 negative feelings occurred notably more often. However, there is a possibility for bias in these results as three out of four quotations in 2001 were included in a same article and therefore one cannot conclude that positive feelings were the overall encouragement towards consumption of organic food. Instead, as all the negative feelings occurring in the quotations in 2013 were from different articles, these results can be viewed as more liable. In other years the difference was not so remarkable although i.e. in 2006, 2007, and 2011 the amount of quotations when the number of negative emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food products was considerable higher than the amount of positive emotions.

6.3.2 Legitimation strategies between 2000 and 2013

When it comes to legitimation strategies the individuals used for legitimating their consumption of organic food products between 2000 and 2013, moral evaluation and rationalization was used rather equally for the first 10 years (Chart 5). One should notice, however, that moral evaluation was the most often used strategy in the whole of data. In years from 2010 until 2013 the increase in legitimation by moral evaluation was remarkably higher in proportion to the usage of other legitimation strategies.

Chart 5: Legitimation strategies between 2000 and 2013



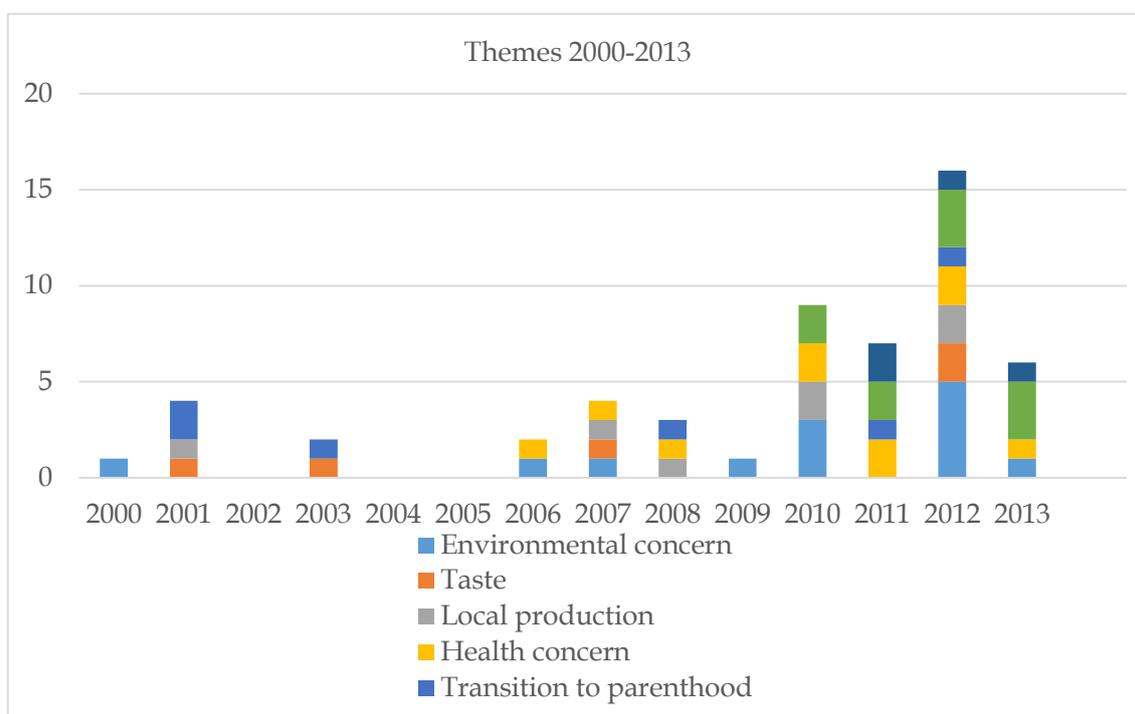
Although the use of authorization and mythopoesis was rather scarce that there is no need for further analyzing them, one should notice that year 2012 was the only year mythopoesis was used for legitimating the consumption of organic food products in the whole data. This may be partly explained by the fact that this was the year presenting most of the quotations altogether. However, as mythopoesis exceeded the times rationalization was used as a legitimation strategy in the same year, one might assume that the request of stories about changing one's life may be compared to the request of rational arguments concerning the legitimation of organic food consumption may be greater now than it was a few years earlier. On the other hand, rationalization as a legitimating strategy has firmly maintained its position throughout the years and there is no sign that this position would be jeopardized.

6.3.3 Themes between 2000 and 2013

The occurrence of different themes in the texts varied to some extent during the period of time of the gathered data. The chart 6 provides a good review about the texts of the period between 2000 and 2013 as a whole since it introduces the development of references to the consumption of organic food products in the texts studied during that period of time. The number of quotations for each year appeared already in chart 3 but the data of chart 6 is more comprehensive since it introduces the use of the themes, too. In years between 2000 and 2009 transition to parenthood and the taste of organic food were among the most popular reasons encouraging the consumption of organic food products while after year 2010 there were only a couple of quotations referring to these themes.

Environmental concerns were first mentioned in 2001 and then again in 2006; both environmental and health concerns remained popular throughout the whole data since 2006. The price premium of organic food products appeared in the texts the first time in 2010; the number of quotations concerning this theme increased towards the end of the period being the most popular theme in 2013. Local production of organic food was referred to on 2001 at first and after that in 2007 and 2008 as well as in 201 and 2012. The texts where the reactions towards organic food were completely negative only appeared between years 2011 and 2013. Year 2012 was the only year during which all of the seven themes appeared in the data.

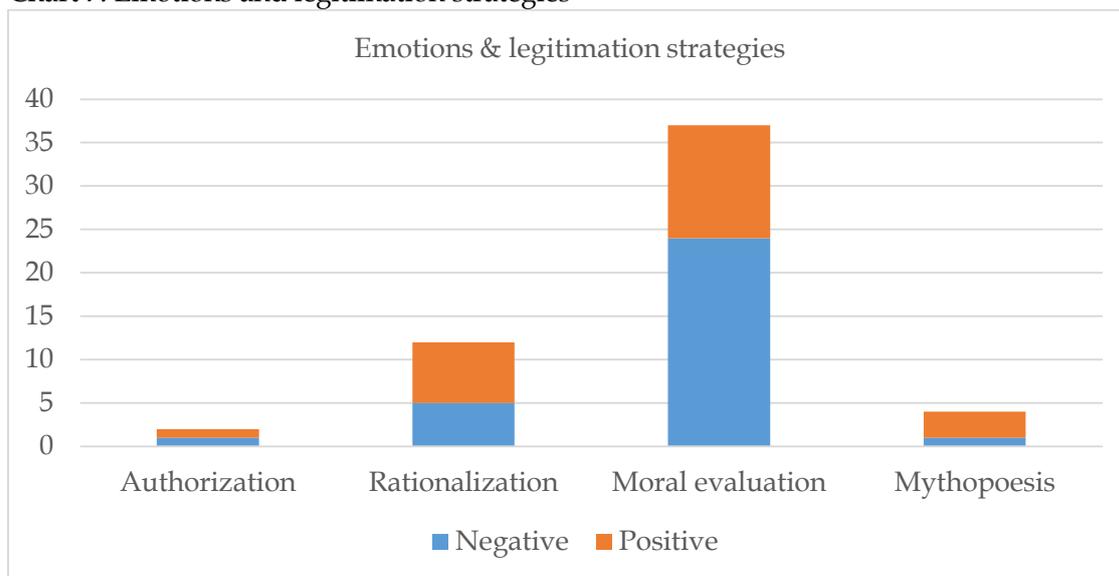
Chart 6: Themes in the texts between 2000 and 2013



6.4 Emotions and legitimation strategies

The relationship between negative and positive emotions and the different legitimation strategies are discussed in this chapter (chart 7). Because one of the ideas of this thesis was to study the way consumers legitimate their consumption of organic food products with emotions these results are among the most important ones when it comes to finding the responses to the research questions.

Chart 7: Emotions and legitimization strategies



The emotions related to legitimization by moral evaluation were mostly negative as were the overall emotions encouraging the consumption of organic food by all the quoted individuals. The emotions that encouraged the consumption of those consumers that used rationalization as their legitimization strategy were, in turn, slightly more positive. However, the difference is not significant enough for further conclusions about reliable comparison between rationalization and moral evaluation. The emotions emerging in relation to authorization were both positive and negative whereas those quotations in which mythopoesis was used to legitimate organic food consumption the number of positive emotions was higher than negative emotions.

Like stated earlier, moral evaluation is connected to the personal values of humans and thus emotions are involved when these values are concerned. The reason of negative emotions appearing in cases when the consumption of organic food products was legitimated by moral evaluation may be in relation with the themes that were used in relation to this legitimization strategy such as environmental concerns, transition to parenthood and preference to locally produced food. All of these factors can be as themselves linked with different kinds of negative emotions of i.e. anxiety or uncertainty. Even though price premium of organic food products has often been an obstacle for consumption of organic food products, those individuals who used moral evaluation to legitimate their purchasing decisions related more positive than negative emotion to their consumption of these products.

Rationality is an issues that is not usually discussed together with emotions but when it comes to those texts in which rationalization was used for legitimating the consumption of organic food products, emotions were indeed present. Unlike in legitimization by moral evaluation, there were more positive emotions emerging in connection to rationalization than negative emotions. However, the difference between the number of quotations in which positive and negative emotions emerged was rather moderate so it is not possible to draw a

conclusion that people who legitimate their consumption of organic food products by rationalization are encouraged to do so in relation to positive emotions. Instead, the positive emotions may be reviewed in relation to those themes in which they appeared the most often: taste and healthiness of organic food as well as the price premium of organic food products. When it comes to the last-mentioned theme, in those quotations where the price premium of organic food was encouraging the consumption decisions, the amount of positive emotions exceeded the negative emotions when rationalization was used as a legitimation strategy just like in case of moral evaluation. Thus, legitimating the consumption of organic food with positive emotions in the price premium theme was not dependent on the legitimation strategy used.

7 CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The idea of this thesis was to find out if the consumers of organic food products legitimate their consumption decisions with emotions, what kind of emotions were encouraging their decisions, and what kind of legitimation strategies they used in order to do so. Recent studies have proven that consumers do not base their purchasing decisions only to rational thinking but also their feelings play an important role in the process. The findings from the data supported the assumption that organic food consumers indeed legitimate their purchasing decisions with emotions. There we both positive and negative emotions emerging from the data which was a bit unexpected as one might assume that people who consume organic food would be encouraged solely by positive feelings. However, different kinds of concerns and fears were also among those emotions that were triggering the consumption decisions of the quoted individuals. When it comes to the producers and marketers of organic food products, the emotions that encourage the consumption should be taken into consideration even more often than they currently are. The results of studies concentrating on the emotions that encourage those consumers who already purchase organic food products should be regarded as beneficial when the producers and marketers approach new potential customers.

As the data was gathered there appeared certain themes according to which the quoted individuals justified their consumption of organic food products. These themes included environmental and health concerns, taste of organic food, locally produced organic food, transition to parenthood, and the price premium of organic food. Only afterwards it emerged that most of the themes have actually appeared as motivational factors of organic food consumption in previous studies. The findings made from the data thus further confirmed that the motivational factors found from previous studies applied also to the results of this study, making these findings even more liable.

In the early stage of the study the writer assumed that environmental issues would play the most important part in emotions concerning organic food

consumption. Indeed, environmental concerns were among the main factors the consumers were relying on when legitimating their purchasing decisions. Nevertheless, there appeared to be other reasons encouraging the consumption of organic food, too; the amount of these other factors altogether exceeded the amount of environmental concerns which discloses that there are multiple other reasons encouraging the purchasing decisions of organic food products and the consumer who buys organic food does not necessarily regard his/her consumption from a pro-environmental viewpoint.

The emotions related to the consumption decisions in general have been studied before rather comprehensively by using different kinds of approaches. However, there has not been many studies in which legitimation strategies have been utilized in order to research the effects of emotions to consumer decision making. Although the number of studies in which this approach has been used in this context have remained low, it does not mean that legitimation strategies would not be appropriate as a study method when consumers and their emotions are regarded.

During the study process, there appeared some factors that can be regarded as limitations for the study. One should notice, that the emotions were approached from the social constructive viewpoint instead of scientifically measuring them. Therefore the emotions found from the data remain rather ambiguous and the writer had to make certain interpretations of them based on her previous experiences and the knowledge about social constructionist approach. Should the emotions be regarded from some other viewpoint, the results may differ to some extent from the results of this study.

When it comes to the legitimation strategies the consumers used, like stated earlier, there is a fine line between moral evaluation and rationalization and these two strategies may be rather challenging to differentiate from each other. The choice between these strategies seemed to be related to the motivational factors of consumers as moral values were present when consumers were encouraged by ideological or intangible themes such as concerns of the environment, preferring of locally produced food, or the transition phase to parenthood. On the contrary, those consumers who used rationalization to legitimate their purchasing decisions were motivated by rather concrete or tangible themes such as concerns of their own health, taste of the food they are eating, or their usage of money on food products. A further study would be required to find out the reasons why certain motivational factors are related to certain legitimation strategies when purchasing decisions of organic food products are concerned.

It was noticeable that there were a few texts concerning organic food products in the early years of the period from which the data was gathered but the number of texts discussing this issue decreased for a few years' time in the mid-2000s. Then, from 2006 until 2009 some quotations began to appear each year until their number increased considerably in the beginning of the next decade. Perhaps the readers of *McNaiset* magazine were not amenable enough for texts related to consumption of organic food until a later year of the study period and

there were other issues discussed in the magazine instead of organic food. The interests of the readers may have further changed to be more agreeable towards issues such as organic food after the worldwide economic crisis of 2008 which was then visible in the beginning of the next decade. However, as this is only a speculation and further study would be required in order to examine the actual reasons for this progress.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN39/2000: 77	"I am an activist of everyday life. It begun already before Ekoisti. I certainly do not throw litter on the streets. I still carry organic milk for my children and organic wine for my husband. I tend to ride a bike in my way to work. However, I am not a fanatic. It is about the small choices for the benefit of the environment. Everyone is interested in their environment nowadays."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 16-17/2001: 55	"We purchase locally produced food which is preferably organic. We are happy to pay a little bit more of that."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Transition to parenthood	MN 16-17/2001: 55	Certainly the parents of family Muukkonen have often replied to questions if it is right to make the choice about vegetarian diet on the behalf of their toddler. They think it is justified because they believe that organically farmed vegetarian food is the best option for a child. They think that it would be educationally rather odd if they ate vegetarian food themselves but served their child with food products of animal origin.
Positive	Moral evaluation	Transition to parenthood	MN 16-17/2001: 55	When her son begin to familiarize himself with solid food along with the breast milk Mirka prepared the mushes for the first year solely from organic products.
Positive	Rationalization	Taste of food	MN 21/2001: 49-50	"In weekdays I usually cook chicken, another favorite ingredient of mine is onion. I am also a heavy user of various vegetables, berries and especially fruits. When shopping groceries I usually pick up organic products to my basket because of their better taste."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Transition to parenthood	MN 6/2003: 58	"I respect humans and the nature and therefore I use organic and biodynamically farmed products. After the birth of my own child I have invested even more in the cleanliness of food because I want to provide him with the best [available option]."
Positive	Rationalization	Taste of food	MN 20/2003: 35	"If I am the one who cooks it'll be something that's quick and fresh. Because of travelling we often eat out but once at home we like cooking. There are Mediterranean dishes made of organic products as often as possible at our plates. We are not fanatic food enthusiasts but we do like to feast, too. Our bodies will tell us what is needed."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Negative	Moral evaluation	Health concern	MN 14/2006: 11	"I buy fresh organic and vegetarian food. I prefer fair trade products. I never buy ready-made meals because I want to avoid additives. For me the healthiness of the food is more important than its price."
Negative	Authorization	Environmental concern	MN 45/2006: 36	"I think about the climate change every day. In my work I educate the policy makers and the managers of organizations about the threats of global warming. The Finns have not yet understood the severity of the phenomenon. I use ecological electricity, I pay for my aircraft emissions, I use public transportation, I prefer organic and environmentally labelled products."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 19/2007: 79	"I do not usually eat meat. Vegetarian food burdens the environment less. I purchase organic products and prefer domesticity. However, I purchase for example beans from Senegal as one should buy also African products."
Positive	Rationalization	Taste of food	MN 23/2007: 84	"There is always organic milk in my fridge; I never buy any other type of milk."
Negative	Rationalization	Health concern	MN 27/2007: 30	"This organic milk does not provide similar effects on my intestines than regular milk."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 36/2007: 41	"I know quite little about it. It is ethically dubious. In my opinion organic is the most valuable thing there is. Based on what I have read about it the arguments both for and against GMF are controversial and I would wish for remarkably more information. I hope the decision makers will research the issue thoroughly before they accept anything."
Negative	Rationalization	Health concern	MN 32/2008: 59	"My spouse and I eat extremely healthy at home and most preferably organic food. The bread is always whole grain bread and for instance for breakfast we eat spelt porridge and berries. We never eat pasta, potatoes, or rice."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Positive	Rationalization	Locally produced food	MN 38/2008: 63	"I prefer domestic, organic, and locally produced food products. I do not visit the direct sales places but I purchase my groceries from a regular shop."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Transition to parenthood	MN 42/2008: 42	"I invest in organic products. While the baby was small I felt actually proud that she was growing up only by me."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 31/2009: 24	Arja has already contacted the city council and generated an idea of a joint shed for the recycling bins for the whole allotment garden. Next summer she is going to draw a list of biodegradable washing liquid labels on a bulletin board. The food Arja and Pasi tend to eat at their summer cottage is not the classic beer and sausages, so if other similar people would move into the cottages nearby, Arja could consider joining an organic food circle.
Positive	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 28/2010: 57	As meat production causes pain to the animals and burdens the environment, the last time Tiina ate meat was at secondary school. She replaces meat with beans and soy as well as with organic milk and eggs.
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 28/2010: 57	Maria hopes that the conditions of livestock would be better and she is dreaming that for example organic chicken was available.
Negative	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 28/2010: 57	Maria also prefers local and organic food. "I want my food to be real and not dispensable. For ice cream one does not need more than cream, eggs, and sugar but there can be 20 different ingredients in the final product."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 30/2010: 12	"We like to buy organic food and spend also on travelling."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Positive	Rationalization	Price premium	MN 42/2010: 71	"I am a bit worried if I'll find a job. Newly graduated teacher earns only about 2500 euros [a month] but any salary will raise our standard of living. Then we can take the kids to [the amusement park] [intsi or buy that easel. I have also made a promise to myself that I will only buy organic products."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Health concern	MN 43/2010: 45	In her diet she prefers organic products and avoids meat. In addition, she has given up all unnecessary pharmaceutical products.
Negative	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 48/2010:31	"I have, however, begun to think about small changes in my lifestyle. I can give up using kitchen paper immediately and also lessen the use of plastic bags. Instead of junk food I could eat more vegetables. One does not really need to take a shower every day. I don't have to give up shopping either but I am going to prefer organic products and small businesses."
Positive	Rationalization	Health concern	MN 48/2010: 31	"This might be just a placebo effect but I feel physically good when I eat vegetarian and organic food."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 48/2010: 32	"It feels difficult to buy new products. In flea markets as well as organic and ecological shops one does not have to think about the consequences of the purchases that much."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Transition to parenthood	MN 14/ 2011: 15	"Most preferably I choose the organic products with no additives and I have begun to prepare part of the baby's food by myself. I do not anymore have this 'so what' attitude towards food or life as I used to have. So, I am a little bit more enlightened nowadays when it comes to eating."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Negative attitude	MN 20/2011: 32	"The people using organic products are regarded as the good ones as we who eat conventional food are the bad ones. There is a lot of making people feel guilty about themselves related to food nowadays."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Negative	Moral evaluation	Health concern	MN 20/2011: 34	"Nowadays I am omnivorous but ethical issues are still important for me. I purchase organic products and search for the informative labels of the groceries because I want us to avoid unnecessary food additives."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Negative attitude	MN 40/2011: 35	"I am annoyed when people in the magazines say that they only cook organic food. I, for once, buy spinach pancakes from the store or pick up takeouts from a Nepalese restaurant."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 42/2011: 38	"We are also spending in good quality food and organic milk."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 46/2011: 43	"Of good [quality] food. I love cooking and invest in domestic food products. I buy often organic products."
Positive	Authorization	Health concern	MN 1/2012: 52	"I am such an enthusiastic. I might change the direction all of a sudden when I read a new book or watch a documentary film. Then I'll buy cans of additional nutrients or organic food. When the hype dies down they will remain in the cupboard."
Positive	Mythopoesis	Environmental concern	MN 3/2012: 54-55	"I longed for a change for my lifestyle. I have always been interested about health and taking care of it by natural way. I experienced a 'green awakening'. Ecological lifestyle, organic and locally produced food matters have begun to interest me as I have gained more knowledge."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 4/2012: 14	Jina picks organic products every time they are available. Her every day choices could be called semi-green. "I choose organic products, prefer locally produced food, domestic designers, and small business owners and most preferably purchase my food from the Hakantemi Market Hall. I recycle and like to visit flea markets. I try to use mainly public transportation but I also use a taxi and go shopping for instance in Helsinki 10 [a designer boutique] so I cannot proclaim myself as an eco saint."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Positive	Mythopoesis	Taste of food	MN 13/2012: 29	She had become a thirtysomething woman who instead of the bars was interested in yoga and organic food. "All the people change and grow up. I used to be a rather vivid twentysomething but now I'm totally different."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 13/2012: 39	"I prefer not to call myself a vegan even though I sort of am one. I respect the ideology but I wouldn't want to label myself into one mold. I can eat fish or even organic spring lamb in the Easter if I feel like it."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Locally produced food	MN 16/2012: 95	"I prefer locally produced food and purchase organic vegetables and meat. I am a member of an organic meat food circle who provides me with mince of longhaired beef four times a year that I deep-freeze."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 16/2012: 95	"It is a great privilege that I can afford to buy organic food products. It is difficult to understand wealthy people who live by eating burgers."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 18/2012: 14	"It's nice that I don't have to choose the cheapest option in the store anymore. I buy organic products every now and then even though I am annoyed by their expensive price. Food has become a moral choice nowadays. It is acceptable to buy solely organic products that are certainly neat for those people who can afford them."
Negative	Rationalization	Transition to parenthood	MN 19/2012: 8	"I do not have memories concerning the dining in my childhood but I'm not speaking ill of anyone. There was a revolution of microwave ovens back then. The ready-made meals were the spirit of that time. Organic products and nutritional values were not discussed but the easiness and the effortlessness."
Negative	Mythopoesis	Health concern	MN 30/2012: 8	Kirsi has also stopped eating meat and begun eating almost exclusively organic food. Once a month she packs all the empty bottles and cans of the household into the trunk and drives with her friends to the spring to fill them up. "Once you sensitize to listen to yourself your body starts to tell what it needs."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Positive	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 31/2012: 10	"My parents had a huge garden at my childhood home and everything was composed. Once in the city I had to learn how to sort the biowaste and it felt strange at first. I have always been interested in organic products and I used to be a member of an urban co-operative farm. Nowadays I purchase food from the biodynamic farm of Majvik from Sipoo together with my neighbour. Parting the load is a fun session and the only thing to which my scales is used for."
Positive	Rationalization	Taste of food	MN 31/2012: 10	"In organic [food products] ethical and health issues are important but also the taste is what counts in food."
Positive	Mythopoesis	Health concern	MN 31/2012: 10	"I am not a farm girl but my stepfather was a farmer and I used to live in a farmhouse as a child. The farm certainly had nothing to do with organic products and I also used to play with sacks containing artificial fertilizers. At home we used to drink raw milk and ate products from our own land and later when we moved out [from the farm] my body was rejecting the processed food. I have four brothers and the eldest of them does not believe at all to the organics - we tend to have interesting discussions about the subject. I, however, want to escape all sorts of chemicals and I feel better when I choose organic products."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 31/2012: 10	"Organic products are sometimes more expensive but I am willing to pay for the cleanliness. I feel better and the flavors are clearly more intensive. Nothing compares to my organic vegetable soup."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Negative attitude	MN 34/2012: 104	"Indeed the hassle over organic and locally produced food has probably become today's indulgence. People are saving the world once or twice a week by buying these products but the rest of the week they are eating something else."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 46/2012: 28	"I was surprised about the severity of problems there is. There are good farms and then there are really pitiful farms and one cannot be sure when shopping in a store if this steak or a can of milk is from the good farm. The trust has disappeared. I have reduced eating of meat remarkably, now I eat only organic products or game. Organic products do not go without problems but there is a guarantee that the animal has been able to for example move freely and get some fresh air."
Positive	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 48/2012: 40	"Ecology is an important value for me. I tend to pick organic and local products in the stores and I am a vegetarian. I, however, do not cavil or force upon my values to the others yet I believe in moderation and a laid back attitude."

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Emotion	Legitimation strategy	Theme	Magazine	Quotation
Negative	Rationalization	Negative attitude	MN 9/2013:11	"I love cooking and I prefer good quality and domestic ingredients. I am not fooled by organic products as they do not bring any added value to the taste of food. For example, domestic beef steak tastes a lot better as a conventional version. We [her family] are consuming it several kilos a month."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Environmental concern	MN 29/2013: 12	"I am an advocate of organic food products but I am aware that one does not cope with just them. There should be conventional and even genetically modified food available. The consumer should, however, always have the possibility to make the decision. It is annoying that our livestock is feed with GM fodder but there is no mention about it in the product packaging."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Price premium	MN 40/2013: 104	"I eat organic food that is as clean as possible. I am fortunate that I can afford it."
Positive	Rationalization	Price premium	MN 41/2013: 14	"I am about to go for a week to Los Angeles with my girlfriends and I am so happy about the trip. I'm going to enjoy lovely food, wines, and freshly squeezed organic juices. I know that a lot of money will be spent on a trip but I'll try to stick in my budget. I've saved [some money] for the trip and I'm aware that I need to save some more afterwards."
Negative	Moral evaluation	Health concern	MN 41/2013: 14	"I became enthusiastic about cleanliness of food a couple of years ago when I was suffering from work related stress. I became aware that if I don't look after myself and eat well I can't cope. Without healthy food, meditating and jogging I'd been at the ICU long ago. I'm trying to eat organic products as much as I can. For me healthy food is not chicken breast and cottage cheese but i.e. juices, smoothies, and raw food."
Negative	Rationalization	Price premium	MN 50/2013: 53	Tiina has noticed that the unhealthiest option is the cheapest. One does not buy organic products with small income because [frozen foods such as] sausages and potatoes can be bought with the same price lasting for several days.